1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

178 crop, technology, and market--was the most important of these enter-
249 prises. The sugar industry flourished in its new world setting and
433 developed from the beginning an institutional character different from that of the old world, particularly in terms of land holding, labor, and the organization of production.

175 The regime of possession of the land was that of completely
423 alodial properties. Among the powers of the donatários of
249 the capitania was, as we have seen, that of disposing of
471 the land, which they distributed among the colonists. The grants were as a rule very large, the lots measuring many leagues. This is understandable: the lands were abundant, and the ambitions of these pioneers, recruited at such a cost, were evidently not contented with small properties; it was not the position of modest peasants to which they aspired in the new world but as great senhores [gentlemen] and latifundiários [landowners]. In addition to this and more important, there was a material factor which determined the type of property established. The culture of cane is practical, economically, only on a large scale. Merely conveniently to clear and prepare the lands (a costly task in this tropical and virgin setting so hostile to man) made necessary the united energy of many workers: it was not an enterprise for small and isolated proprietors. This done, the planting, the harvesting, and the transportation of the cane to the engenhos where it was made into sugar was only profitable when done in large volume. In these conditions the small producer could not exist.

It was above all these circumstances which determined the type of agricultural enterprise adopted in Brazil: the large property.[17]

175 The latifundia established by these colonists ideally were
241 self-sustaining units producing food and sometimes clothing for the
471 entire engenho community--free and slave. In fact, however, they often
433 seem to have neglected food production for the cultivation of the universal commercial product--sugar cane. From the beginning of colonization a succession of regulations and decrees were issued to compel the cultivation of manioc. Recurrent food shortages suggest that these measures were not effective in the face of the "monocultural mentality" of the senhores de engenho (sugar plantation owners). In

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

245 311 Within the Recôncavo coconut production is important along the sandy beach line of the island of Itaparica and along the ocean coast of Salvador, where coconuts are virtually the only agricultural product [133] (Maps 58, 59, and 60). The inner shores of the Bay, which rise abruptly [134] with rocky clay slopes, bear very few coconuts, except in a low-lying sandy zone along the estuary of the Paraguaçu. Coconuts are produced 245 [423] chiefly on large properties which are frequently owned by urban families. [464] The plantations are operated with hired labor drawn from the coastal [438] population. When harvested, the coconuts are sold in the urban markets [258] of Salvador and other cities and towns. Very little of the Recôncavo [439] production is converted into oil, and little is exported.

Oranges. The navel orange is a Bahian development, a mutation [433] of the orange brought from Europe. The main centers of Brazilian production, however, are elsewhere in the country, and cultivation of orange within the Recôncavo is primarily for local consumption.

245 311 Scattered orange trees are a feature of the rural and urban landscape in many areas. In addition to this generalized cultivation, which frequently is not shown in the official data, there is commercial production in the environs of several urban centers—Alagoinhas, Santo Antônio, and to a lesser extent, Salvador (Maps 61 and 62). The [489] [443] cidades of Alagoinhas and Santo Antônio are both markets for part of the local crop; moreover, both are on the railroads leading to Salvador, which is the chief market for the entire region. In addition to these three main concentrations, there are numerous orange groves in the Southwestern Recôncavo which apparently serve both local and regional markets, though on a small scale. In general the relative area in orange groves is not great, yet in 1948 they occupied 10 per cent of the cropland of Alagoinhas.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 (4) The field is burned for the last time, and as new cane or grass appears, it is used as pasture.

(5) After one year of pasture, sometimes more, the field is replanted to cane.

[529] The length of the harvest varies. It begins with a festa (festival) in the first week of September and continues as long as there is cane and as long as the heavy rains hold off--usually about six months.

249 311 Within the sugar cane area most of the land is in cane or in temporary fallow pasture except: (1) very wet bottom lands; (2) steep slopes; (3) villages; and (4) the lands and yards occupied by the mills. The general aspect of this area is that of an unbroken sea of cane. Single fields are often large--a square kilometer is not uncommon--but they are divided into separate plots. The cultivation of other crops within the sugar cane area is very limited. Small house gardens for the laborers are common, but other commercial agricultural forms of land use are rare.

249 423 257 184 Land holdings, as will be seen, generally are large under this system. The orientation of the sugar industry in São Filipe is somewhat different than in the zone discussed above. Properties are smaller, the monocultural aspect less dominant, and the whole sugar economy more primitive. There were eighty-two small sugar mills in this area in 1940, compared to the eight large usinas of Santo Amaro. [273] Many of these produced crude sugar (rapadura) rather than the refined sugar or cane brandy (cachaça) which are the main products of the zone north of the Bay.

245 The Cultivation of Coconuts. The final important agricultural system of the Recôncavo is the coconut monoculture, a less highly organized permanent culture than the sugar cane system.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

CHAPTER VIII

AGRICULTURAL PROPERTIES

241 231 423 311

The agricultural properties of the Recôncavo are diverse in functional type, tenure, and size. In most municípios there are to be found three basic production types: crop cultivation units, mixed crop cultivation and livestock producing units, and ranches. The properties of any local area may be owner or administrator operated, rented, or, in some areas, occupied informally by "squatters." In distinction to most agricultural areas of the United States, the Recôncavo has a very large number of extremely small agricultural properties, frequently with less than 2 hectares. There are also a number of large properties with more than 10,000 hectares; and in many areas large and small properties are closely intermixed.

241 423 184

Despite the widespread diversity of agricultural properties, there are distinct regional patterns which are based upon the predominance of certain types and sizes of properties and upon characteristic modes of possession. The regional patterns of agricultural properties correspond in a general manner to the crop regions delineated in the previous discussion.

241 423 [127]

The basic source of information about the agricultural properties of the Recôncavo is the 1940 economic census.[1] No more recent source is as yet available to replace or to verify or correct these fifteen year old data. However, generalizations based upon these data were substantiated in most cases by the field investigations undertaken for the present study. It is apparent that in so traditional a region as the Recôncavo, the institutional characteristics of agriculture, property types included, change very slowly. [178]

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

241
• 423
127
311 Of the 12,500 square kilometers of the Recôncavo, only about 800,000 hectares were enumerated in the agricultural section of the 1940 economic census--71 per cent of the total land area. In the various municípios of the region, the enumerated area varied from 39 per cent of the land surface in Alagoinhas to 110 per cent in Itaparica (Map 87). In a few cases, such as Itaparica, the area given in the agricultural section of the census exceeded the official total area of the município.[2] Where the political boundaries were not delimited precisely, properties may have been credited to the wrong município. More probably, however, these situations result from the over-estimation of the areas of individual properties--precise surveys of agricultural properties are virtually unknown.

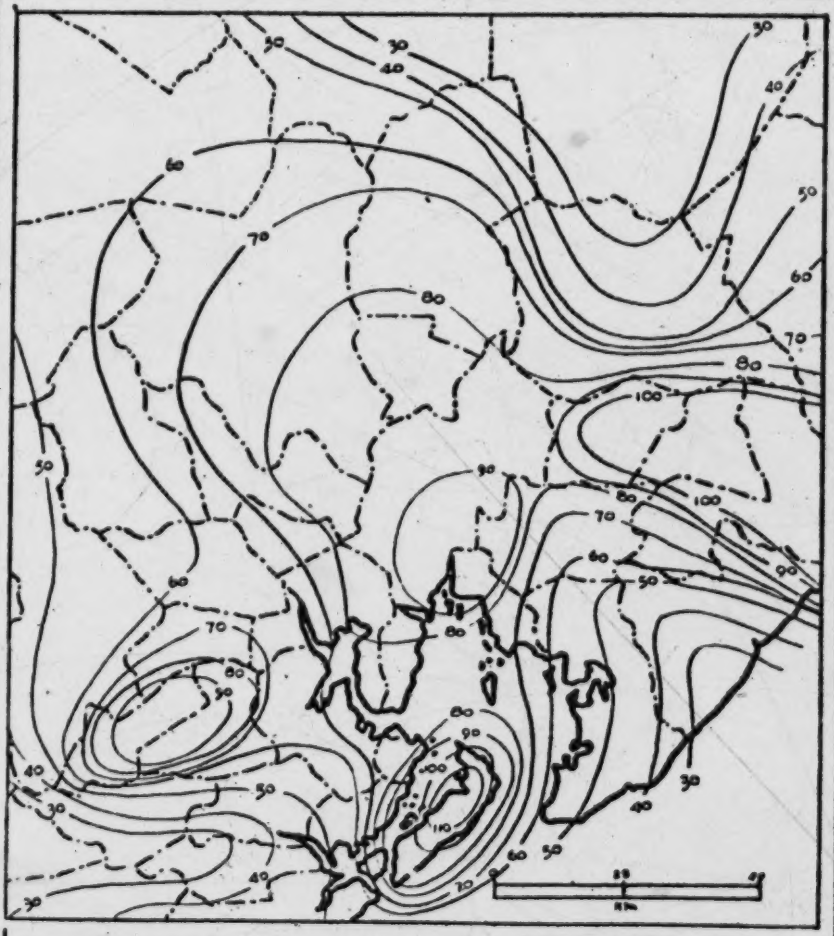
There was a general correspondence between the intensity of land use (Map 2) and the relative area included in the 1940 agricultural census. This latter area will be referred to as "enumerated area" in the following discussion. Those lands not included in the agricultural census were urban areas, public domain, or in a few cases, private land held for speculation. However, not all of the unenumerated land was unused from the agricultural point of view, for in some of the less densely settled areas "squatters" are quite common.

241
231
423
311 Production Types of Agricultural Enterprises. In the 1940 census the agricultural properties of Brazil were divided into six classes, based in part upon the type of production and in part upon the scale of operation. The three main functional types were agricultura (crop cultivation), agro-pecuária (crop cultivation with livestock production), and pecuária (livestock production). In this context it is important to note that while agro-pecuária may include mixed agriculture--in the sense of functionally interdependent crop and livestock production

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 292]

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

*102
241
• 423



RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Total Land Area Enumerated

in the 1940 Agricultural Census

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 87

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

241 231 423 311 within the individual agricultural unit--properties classifed within the group may have merely co-existing crop and animal production. In the Recôncavo, cultivation and animal husbandry are carried on separately within the individual properties, except (1) where labor animals are involved, or (2) where manure for tobacco cultivation is produced on a tobacco-growing farm. Each of the three main production types was classified as either a large-scale or a small-scale unit, on the basis of the amount of cropland, the number of animals, or both.[3] The distribution of the 27,513 agricultural properties and the 837,699 hectares of enumerated land of the Recôncavo among the various production and scale-of-operation classes is shown on the accompanying table (Table XIV).

Most of the agricultural properties of the Recôncavo were small-scale units which were engaged solely in crop cultivation or which produced both crops and livestock. Ninety-nine per cent of all properties, encompassing 58 per cent of the farmland, were small-scale units. The number of cultivation and of mixed cultivation-livestock units was approximately the same; the mixed units were, on the average, more than twice as large as the exclusively crop producing units. Although the number of purely livestock producing units--ranches--was small, the total area which they encompassed was relatively large, and the mean size of individual units was over 450 hectares. Even more notable is the fact that less than 250 large-scale livestock units, about 1 per cent of the total number of units, held 13 per cent of the land in agricultural properties.

231 233 Livestock Units. Agricultural enterprises whose activities were confined exclusively to livestock production were found in every município of the Recôncavo and in every adjoining município in 1940. In most areas, however, the number of such livestock units was very

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 294]

1:Haskins.K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

TABLE XIV

AGRICULTURAL PROPERTIES OF THE RECÔNCAVO--CLASSIFIED BY TYPE AND SCALE OF OPERATION--1940

	Crop Cultivation Only	Crop Cultivation and Livestock Production	Livestock Production Only	All Types
	Number and Area of Properties			
All Properties:				
Number	13,221	13,587	705	27,513
Area*	212,545 ha.	493,210 ha.	131,944 ha.	837,699 ha.
Mean Size	16 ha.	36 ha.	187 ha.	30 ha.
Small-Scale Properties:				
Number	13,144	13,558	458	27,160
Area	167,406 ha.	298,408 ha.	26,932 ha.	483,746 ha.
Mean Size	13 ha.	21 ha.	59 ha.	18 ha.
Large-Scale Properties:				
Number	77 ha.	29 ha.	247 ha.	353 ha.
Area	28,703 ha.	12,649 ha.	107,199 ha.	148,551 ha.
Mean Size	373 ha.	436 ha.	434 ha.	421 ha.
	As Per cent of the Number and Area of all Properties			
All Properties:				
Number	48	49	3	100
Area	25	59	16	100
Small-Scale Properties:				
Number	48	49	2	99
Area	20	35	3	58
Large-Scale Properties:				
Number	-	-	1	1
Area	3	1	13	18

*Because the census does not give data on the size of some units in order to preserve the anonymity of the information, the totals do not precisely equal the sums of the various components.

Source: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

241
231
423
311

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 The tobacco-manioc region, especially in the Southwestern
244 Recôncavo, was a zone of very small properties--in Cruz das Almas and
311 Coração de Maria the mean size of crop cultivation units was 9 hectares,
423 while in São Filipe it was only 5 hectares. This zone of small crop cultivation units is part of a belt, parallel to but well back from the coast, which originates in the serras of the coffee zone, crosses the Recôncavo along the caatinga-mata transition, and follows the caatinga-agreste boundary northward along the eastern edge of the Tertiary tabuleiros. The small-property belt thus lies between the littoral, with its large plantations of sugar cane and its ranches, and the dry sertão, with its extensive livestock economy.

241 The Central Recôncavo was a zone of large crop cultivation proper-
249 ties, primarily sugar cane plantations. Although there are a large
311 number of livestock in the sugar cane region, the plantations use,
423 rather than produce, animals and were thus classified as crop cultivation units. The plantations of the sugar cane area are very diverse as regards size, and many of the individual properties are now operated collectively by large usinas. Nevertheless, there are still a number of small properties, producing cane which is sold to the large mills.

241 Mixed Crop Cultivation-Livestock Producing Units. A little over
231 one-half of all the farms in the Recôncavo produced livestock as well
233 as crops. These units occupied almost 60 per cent of the total area
311 of all properties. However, the area in which over half the properties were mixed units was limited to a broad perimeter zone which included all the outer municipios of the Eastern, Northwestern, and Southwestern Recôncavo (Map 98). In Itaparica and Santo Amaro, where crop cultivation units were very important, there were relatively few mixed units.

244 The maps of the area in mixed units in relation to enumerated
249 area (Map 99) and total area (Map 100) confirm the observation that
231
233

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 311]

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

the tobacco-manioc region is an area of co-existing crop and livestock production. The mean size of mixed units of both the tobacco-manioc region and the western and northern perimeter of the Recôncavo was small—20 to 40 hectares—but was significantly larger than the mean size of crop farms in the same areas (Map 101). Like the purely cane-producing plantations, the mixed units of the Central Recôncavo were relatively large.

Crop Cultivation and Mixed Crop Cultivation and Livestock Producing Units Combined. The distribution of the area in crop and crop-livestock units combined, as shown on Maps 102 and 103, reaffirms the regional distinctiveness of the Recôncavo. In almost the entire region over one-half the total area was in these two types of crop-producing properties. None of the adjoining municípios had as much as 50 per cent of their total area in these two types of units, and in all but three, less than one-third the land was in crop or crop-livestock properties.

Regional Pattern of Agricultural Properties. The distribution of the three major production units is summarized on Map 104. In each of the two basic regions—crop and crop-livestock—one production type dominated, in number and in area, over the others. The Central Recôncavo with the island of Itaparica and, beyond the Recôncavo, the environs of Nazaré composed a region in which most of the agricultural land was in crop cultivation units. North of the Bay, most of these crop cultivation units were sugar cane plantations. On Itaparica there were several kinds of crop cultivation units—coconut plantations, diminutive manioc farms, and across from Salvador, small summer estates with a few cultivated fields. Around Nazaré most of the crop cultivation properties appeared to specialize in the production of manioc.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

241 231 233 311 Mixed crop and livestock units dominated the agricultural land of an inverted "L shaped" zone which began in the southwest and which, in the Recôncavo, coincided approximately with the tobacco-manioc region. Mixed crop and livestock units also dominated in the drier tabuleiros north of the Recôncavo, The intermediate zone between the crop and crop-livestock regions within the Recôncavo was relatively narrow, conforming to the pattern of rapid transition from sugar cane to tobacco and manioc north of the Rio Paraguaçu. The outer transition zone, in which no single property type dominated, included the outer 231 margins of the Recôncavo except in the southwest. Purely livestock-233 producing units did not dominate the agricultural land of any extensive area within or adjoining the Recôncavo.

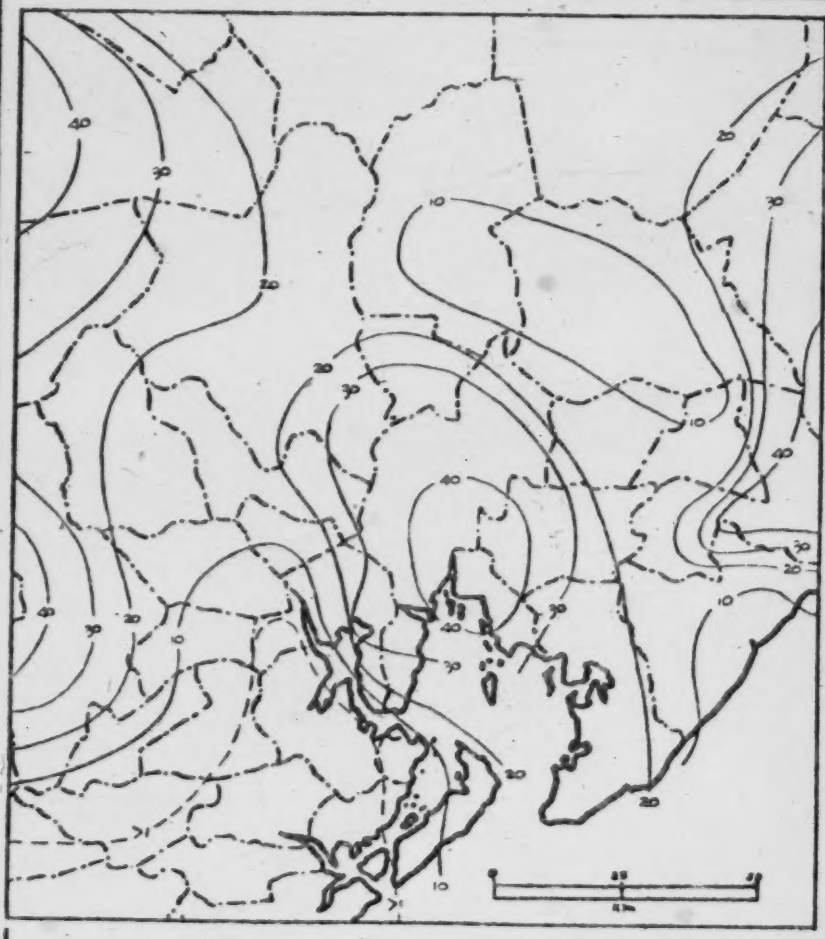
241 311 423 The regions delimited above on the basis of the relative area in the two types of crop-producing units had additional significance in terms of the distribution of large-scale and small-scale enterprises (Map 105). The mixed-unit region, in which manioc and tobacco are so important, had only limited areas in large properties—usually 5 per cent to 20 per cent of the enumerated area. There were few large properties in the southern part of the crop unit region also, but in the sugar cane area north of the Bay over 40 per cent of the enumerated area was in large properties. These regional patterns of property types conform to the distribution of mean property size (Map 106); the mixed-unit region had mean properties of 10 to 20 hectares in the Southwestern Recôncavo and 20 to 30 hectares north of the Rio Paraguaçu, while the mean property size in the sugar cane area exceeded 100 hectares.

241 423 Size of Agricultural Properties. As has been seen, the agricultural properties of the Recôncavo are highly diverse in size, as is to be expected in an economy dichotomized into the predominantly

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 318]

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

*102
241
311
• 423



RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Enumerated Area in

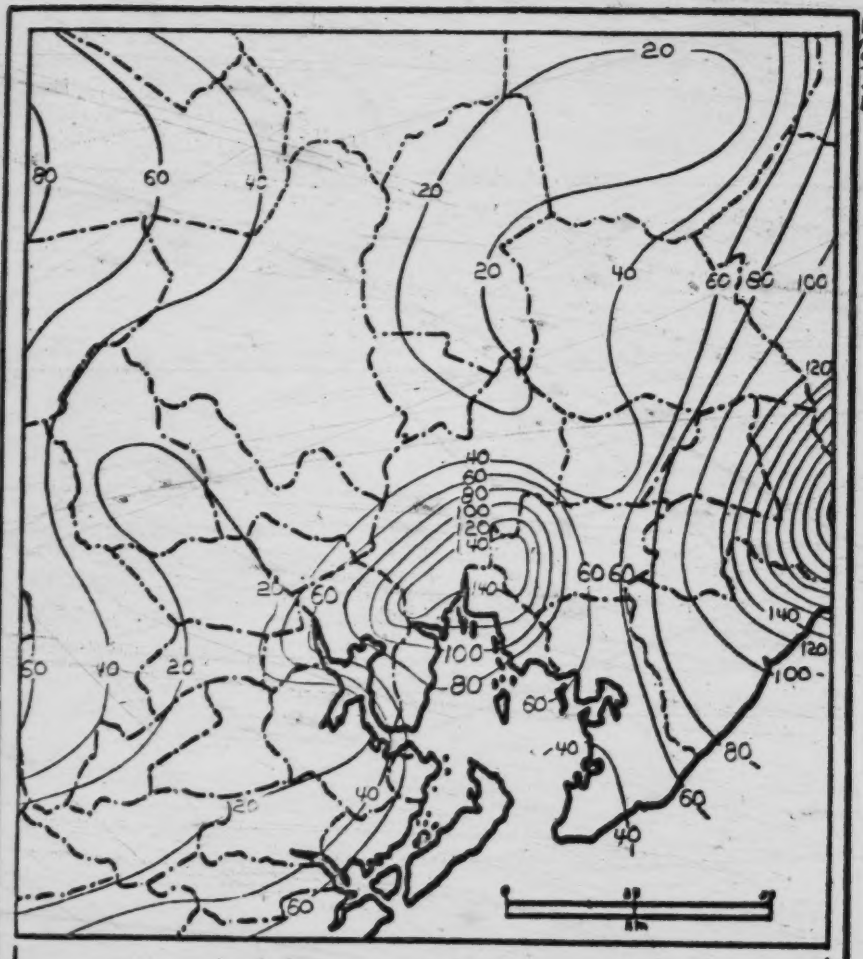
Large-Scale Enterprises--1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 105

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

102*
241
311
423



RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Mean Size of All Agricultural Properties—1940

In Hectares

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil, 1940. Censos Econômicos. Bahia. Vol. II.

MAP 106

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

241
• 423 small-scale agriculture of the tobacco and manioc cultivators and the large-scale system of the sugar industry. In 1940 the properties of the Recôncavo ranged from less than 2 hectares to over 10,000 hectares. This diversity is characteristic of the region as a whole, and also of the individual municípios. In 14 municípios of the Recôncavo at least 5 per cent of the properties were under 2 hectares in area, while in 12 municípios at least 5 per cent of the enumerated area was in properties of over 1,000 hectares. Within the Recôncavo the mean size of properties varied from 13 hectares in São Filipe to 136 hectares in São Francisco, and in municípios adjacent to the region, from 8 hectares in Santo Antônio to 255 hectares in Mata de São João.

On the basis of the mean size of agricultural properties, as on the basis of many other agricultural phenomena, the Recôncavo can be divided into two parts. The sugar-cane region, as has been seen, is an area of large properties which had a mean size in excess of 100 hectares in 1940. The mean size of the agricultural properties of almost all other parts of the Recôncavo lay in the narrow range of 10 to 40 hectares. Although these figures are in a general way very significant, their meaning varies from place to place as the character of the agricultural components change.

In the 1940 census, agricultural properties were grouped into 15 classes on the basis of the total area in the various units:

Under 1 hectare		200-500 hectares	
1-2	"	500-1,000	"
2-5	"	1,000-2,500	"
5-10	"	2,500-5,000	"
10-20	"	5,000-10,000	"
20-50	"	10,000-100,000	"
50-100	"	Over 100,000	"
100-200	"		

After an inspection of the array of property size data, it was apparent that the distribution of small, medium, and large properties could be

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

241
• 423 analyzed through the use of only part of the data, thus simplifying the calculations. Properties of 0 to 10 hectares were used to represent small units; properties of 50 to 200 hectares to represent medium-sized units, and properties of over 500 hectares to represent large units. Thus the analysis of small, medium, and large properties which follows deals with a large sample of the Recôncavo's agricultural properties but not the entire array.

Small Properties. In every município of the Recôncavo at least one-fifth of the agricultural properties had less than 10 hectares of total area--in ten municípios over half the properties were under 10 hectares (Map 107). These small properties were particularly numerous in the Southwestern and Northern Recôncavo and in a narrow connecting zone--a concentration which conforms to the area of small crop-cultivation units discussed previously. There were also many small properties in the vicinity of Salvador. The number of small units in the Central Recôncavo was very limited, and most of the small properties which were present were grouped around, rather than within, the zone of commercial production of sugar cane.

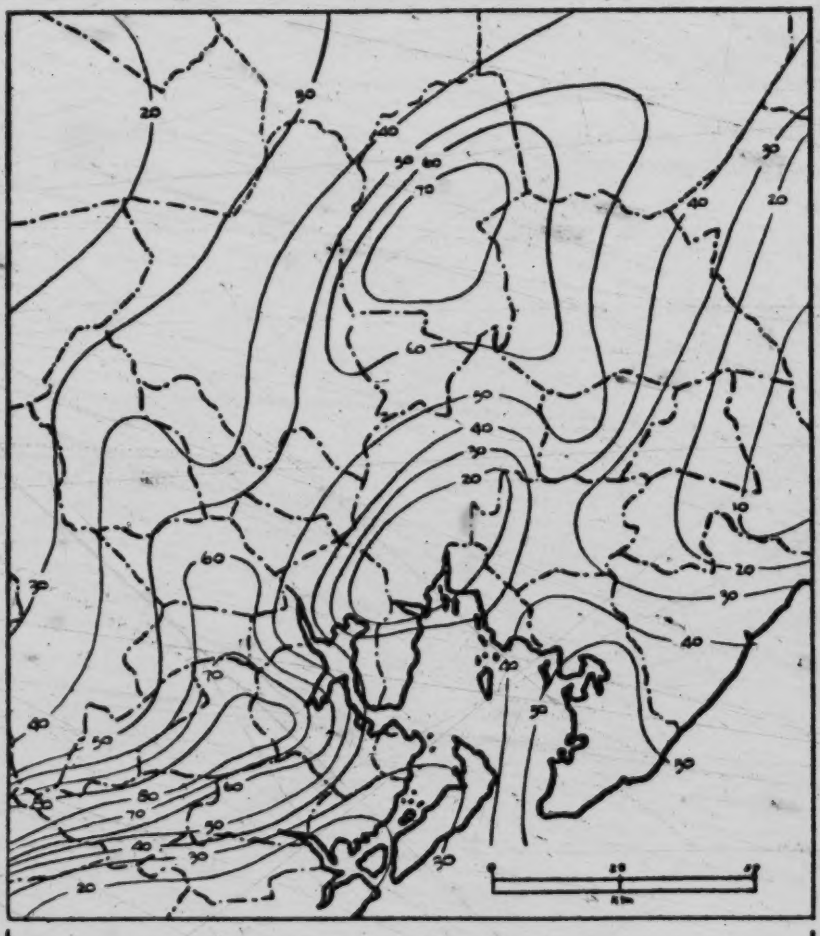
The total area in small properties was less than 10 per cent of the enumerated area in most municípios (Map 108). There were two conspicuous exceptions where small properties were very numerous--in São Filipe and Irará:

	Size of Properties	Per cent of Total Number of Properties	Per cent of the Enumerated Area
São Filipe:	under 1 ha.	5	under 1
	1 - 2 ha.	15	2
	2 - 5 ha.	25	9
	5 -10 ha.	32	19
Total		77	31
Irará:	under 1 ha.	3	1
	1 - 2 ha.	11	1
	2 - 5 ha.	41	9
	5 -10 ha.	18	9
Total		73	20

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 322]

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

102*
241
423



RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of All Properties with an Area of

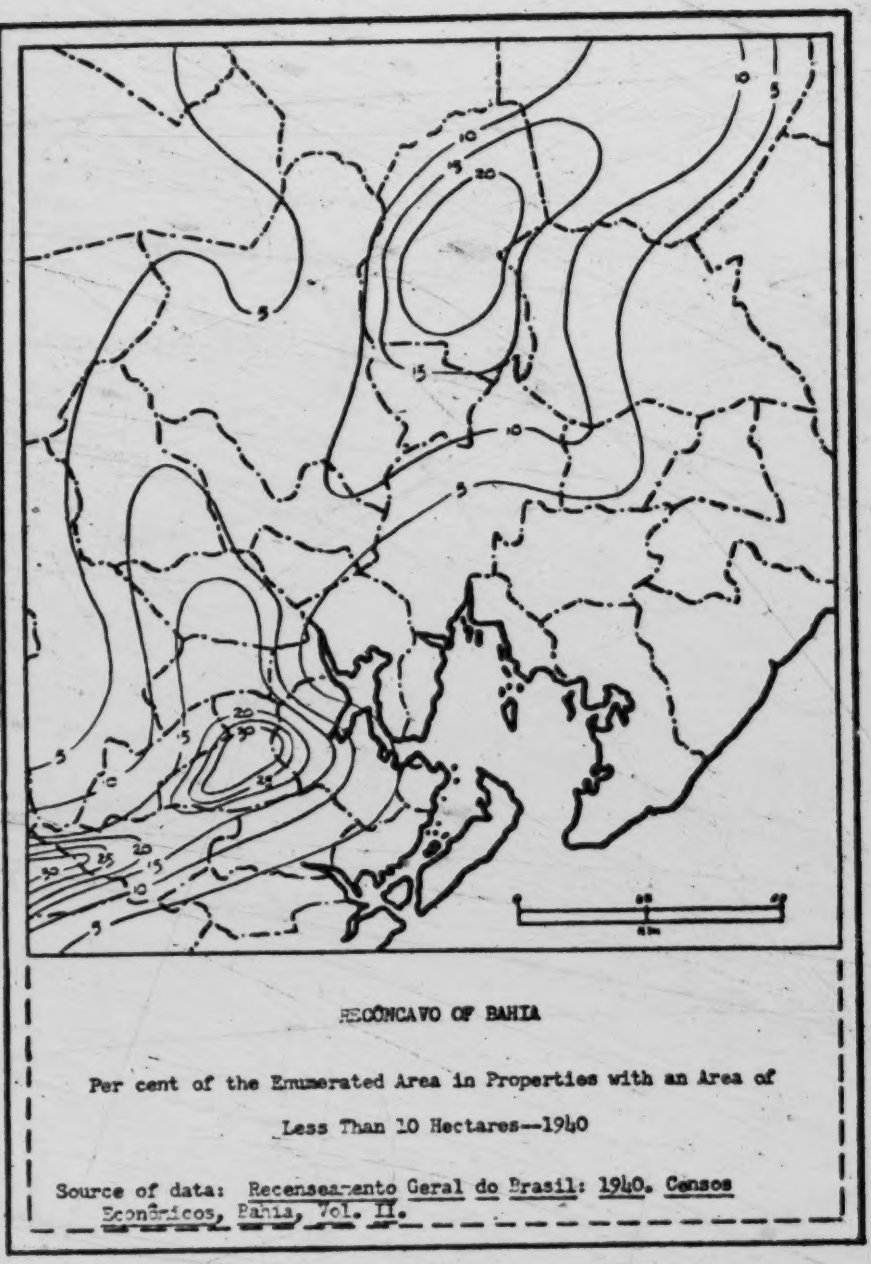
Less Than 10 Hectares--1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil. 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 107

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

*102
423
241



RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Enumerated Area in Properties with an Area of Less Than 10 Hectares--1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 108

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

241
• 423 Medium-Sized Properties. The general pattern of medium-sized properties in the Recôncavo was analyzed through a study of the distribution of the units composing the 50 to 200 hectare classes. These properties were by no means as common as the small properties, except in the município of Pojuca (Map 109). Over 25 per cent of the total enumerated area was in these medium-sized properties throughout most of the outer Recôncavo, from the southwest sector to the northern limits of the município of Salvador (Map 110). The area along the littoral of the Bay and in the sugar cane zone, as well as along the extreme western and southwestern limits of the Recôncavo, contained fewer medium-sized properties.

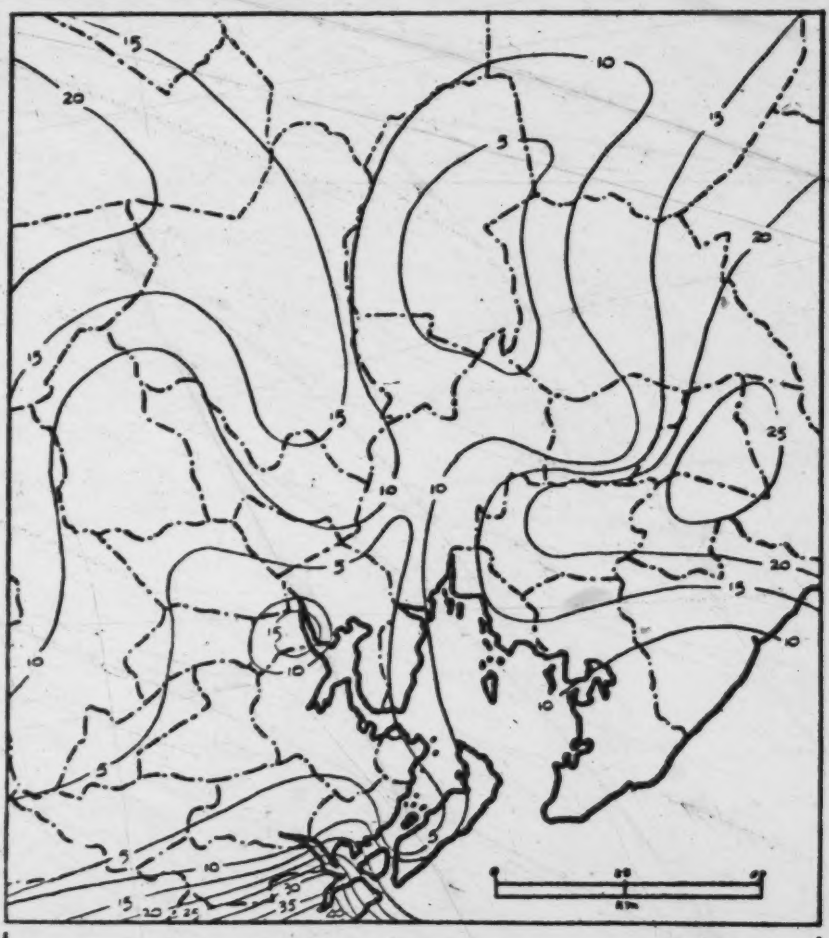
Large Properties. Although there were few large properties, i.e., properties with over 500 hectares, in the Recôncavo as a whole, the area which they occupied within some municípios in 1940 was both extensive and significant. Over 70 per cent of the enumerated area was in large properties along the littoral and in the Coastal Plain section north of the Bay, as well as along the eastern and western frontiers of the Recôncavo (Map 111). Elsewhere in the region and adjacent to the northern and southern limits, the area in large properties was relatively limited, but there were some large units in every município except Cruz das Almas.

The large properties of the Recôncavo are particularly significant, for they play a very important role in the socio-economic complex of agriculture--a role disproportionately large in relation to their number and their portion of the agricultural land. East and west of the region these units generally were either very large ranches or, along the coast, coconut plantations. These large extra-Recôncavo properties were often very extensive--west of Castro Alves there were

TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 326

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

*102
241
• 423



RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of All Properties with an Area of

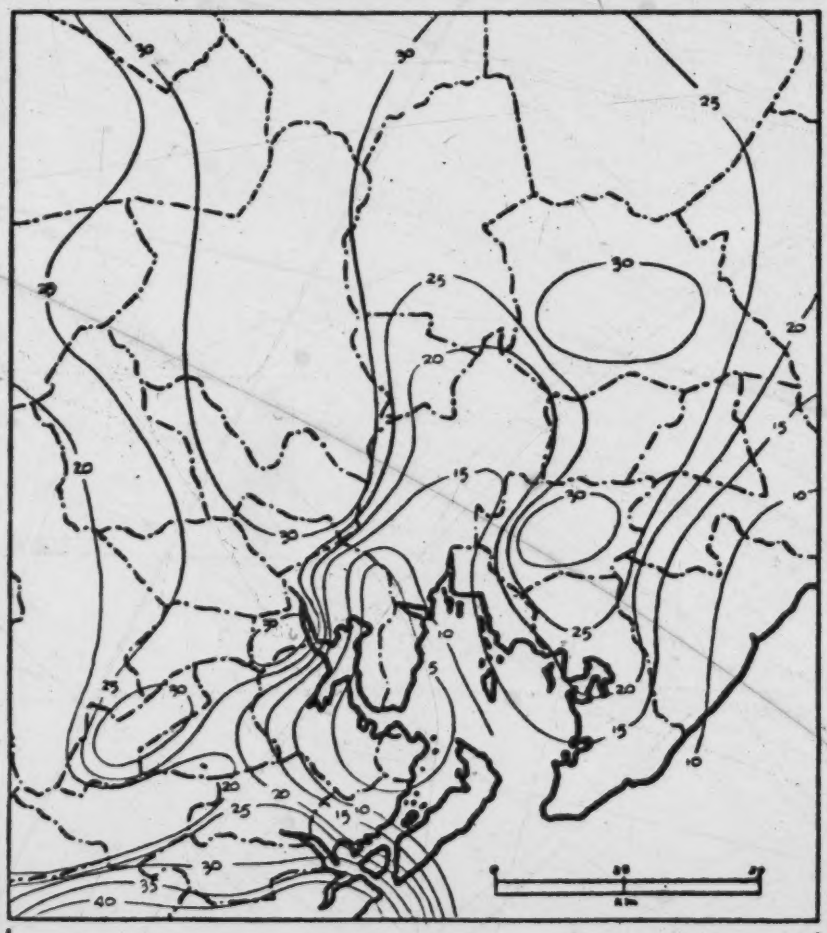
50 to 200 Hectares--1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 109

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

*102
241
423



RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

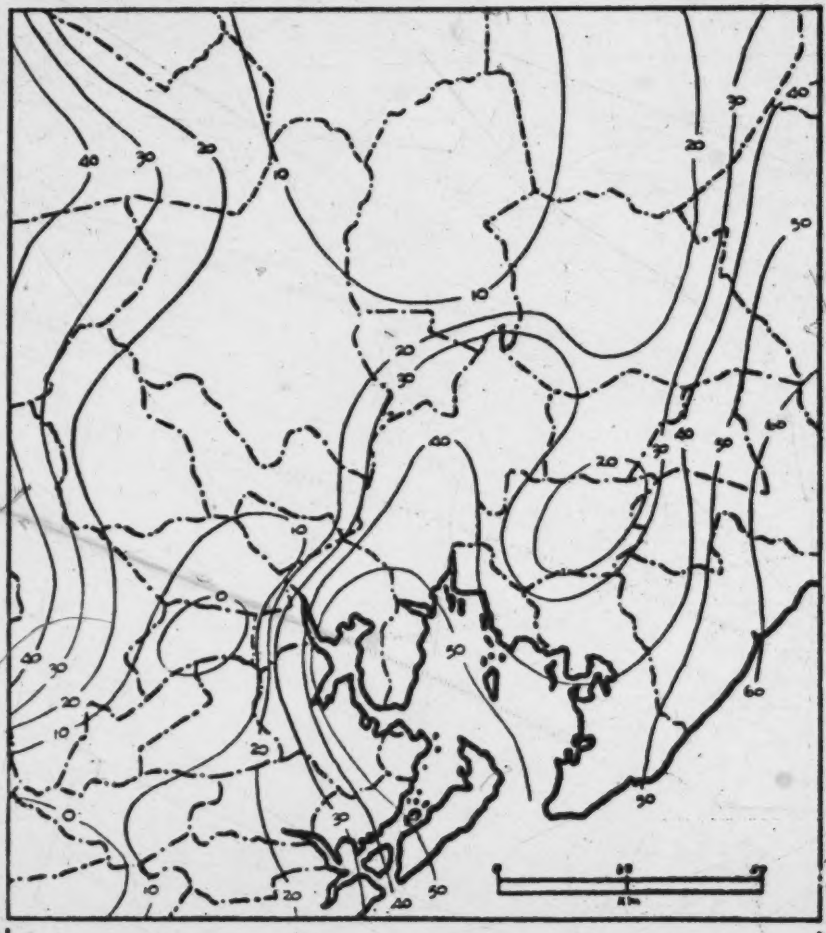
Per cent of the Enumerated Area in Properties with an Area of 50 to 200 Hectares--1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 110

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

*102
• 423
241



RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Enumerated Area in Properties with an Area of More Than 500 Hectares—1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 111

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

241 423 some properties in excess of 100,000 hectares of land. Such overwhelmingly large properties signalize a tremendous concentration of power and, for the sertão, much wealth.

The large properties of the Recôncavo were less extensive than the vast fazendas of the sertão, but they probably represented an even greater assemblage of economic and social power. The sugar cane plantations [249] [477] and the associated usinas, with their traditional prestige, large capital investment, and centralized production, are the preponderant social institutions of the Recôncavo.

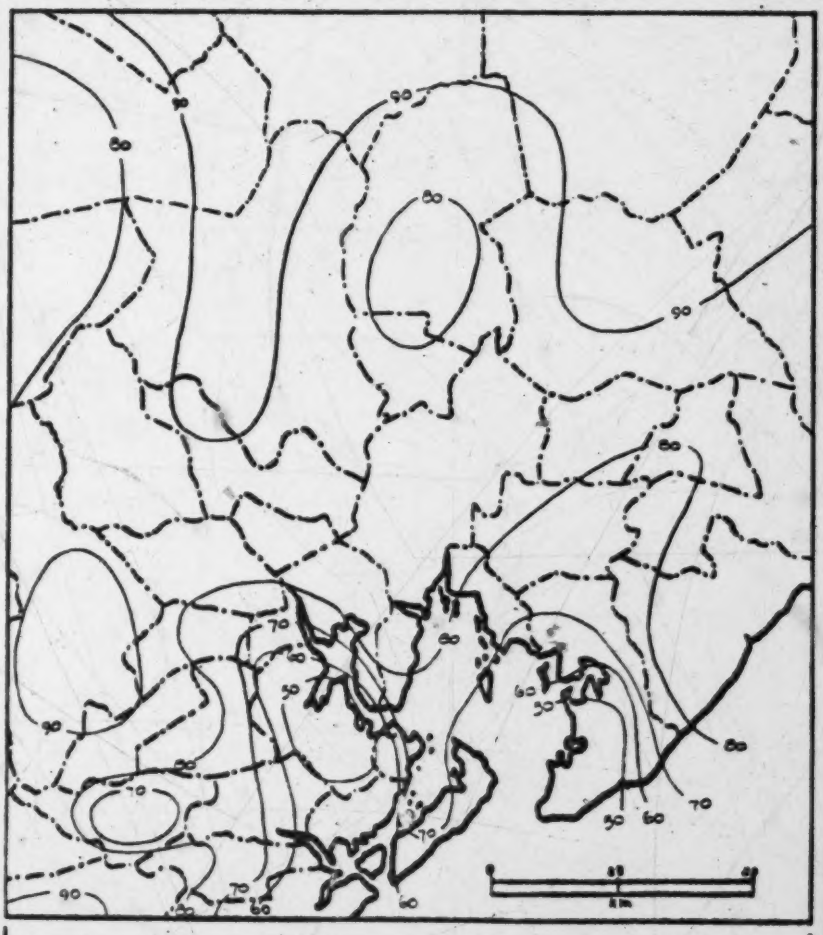
Land Tenure. Most of the formal categories of farm tenure which are characteristic of the agriculture of the United States are present also in the Recôncavo: ownership by private individuals and corporations; operation by owners, administrators, renters, and "squatters."[5] However, the contrasts in property size and the centralized control of agricultural credit and capital in the Recôncavo give these these general types of agricultural tenure and operation a distinctive character.

241 423 472 Proprietor Operation. Most of the agricultural properties of the Recôncavo were operated by the owner in 1940. Only in the Southern Recôncavo--Maragogipe and Salvador--were less than half of the properties owner-operated. In most of the region and the adjoining area three-fourths of the units were operated by the owner (Map 112). The area occupied by owner-operated units was in excess of half the enumerated area in all parts of the region except the Southern Recôncavo (Map 113). However, the area in owner-operated properties was higher in the tobacco-manioc area of the Southwestern Recôncavo--70 to 80 per cent--than in either the tobacco-manioc or the sugar cane region north of the Bay. A greater contrast is reflected in the map of the mean size of owner-operated properties (Map 114). In Conceição do Almeida--

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 330]

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

*02
• 423
241
472



RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

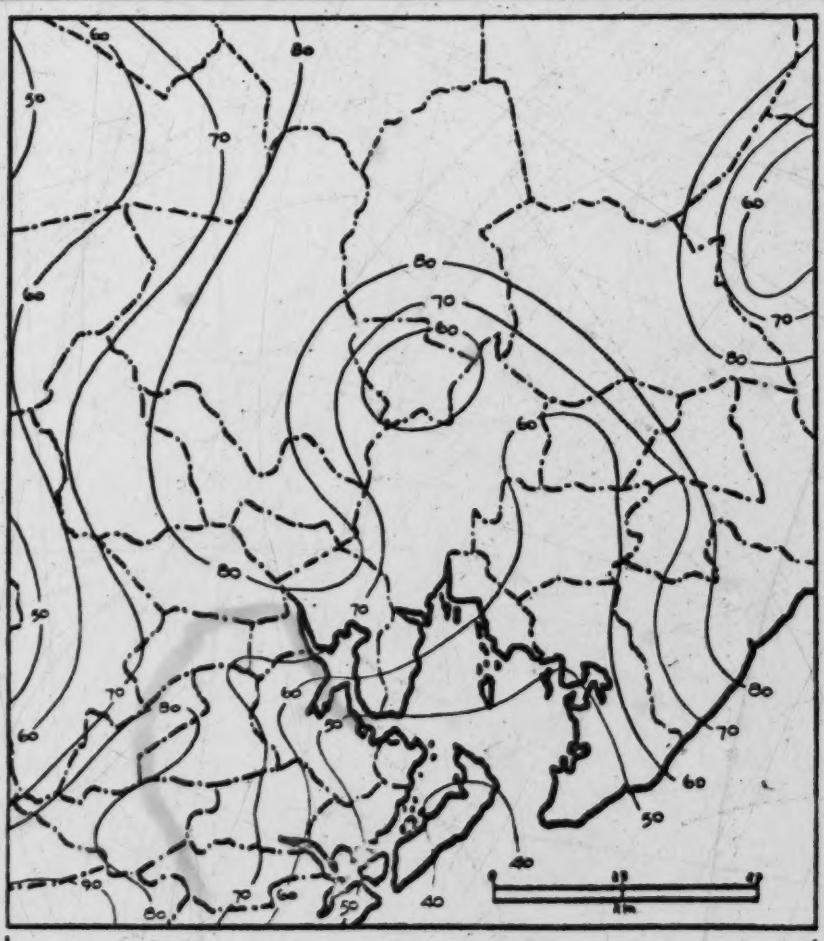
Per cent of All Agricultural Properties Which Were Owner-Operated--1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 112

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

702
423
241
472



RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Enumerated Area in

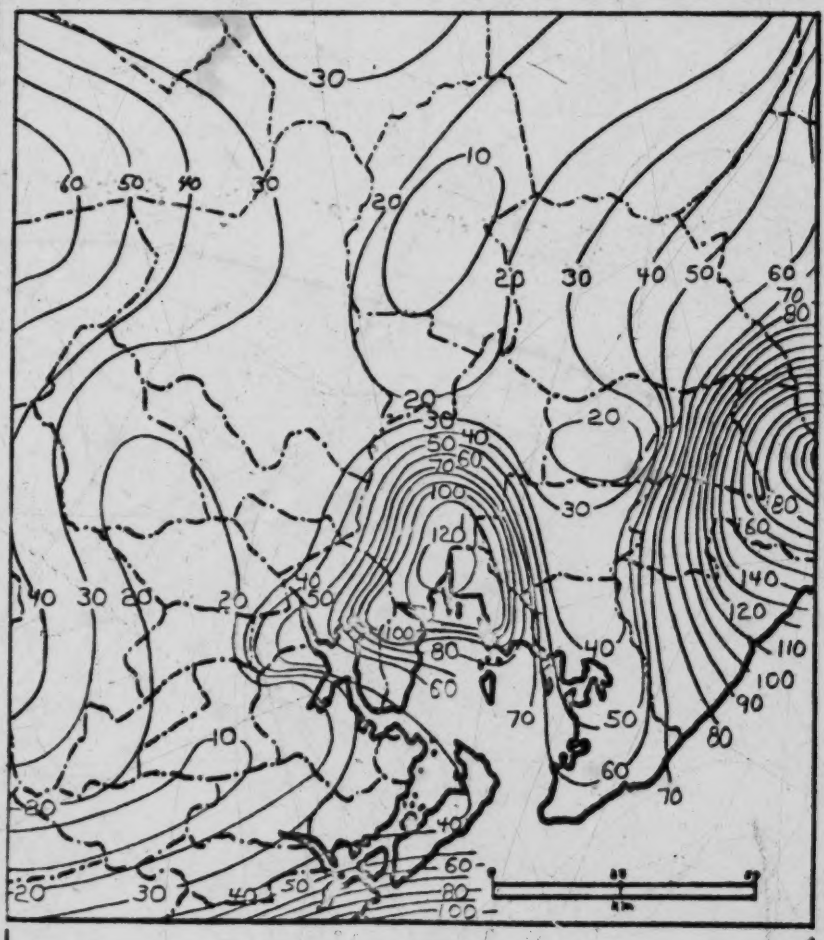
Owner-Operated Properties--1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 113

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

702
241
423
472



RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Mean Size of Owner-Operated Properties—1940

In Hectares

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. IV.

MAP 114

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

241 Southwestern Recôncavo--the 80 per cent of all units which were owner-
423 operated had a mean size of 16 hectares in 1940. In São Francisco--
472 Central Recôncavo--the 75 per cent of all units which were owner-operated had a mean size of 113 hectares. In general the mean size of owner-operated units in the tobacco-manioc region was from 15 to 30 hectares, while the mean size in the sugar cane region exceeded 100 hectares.

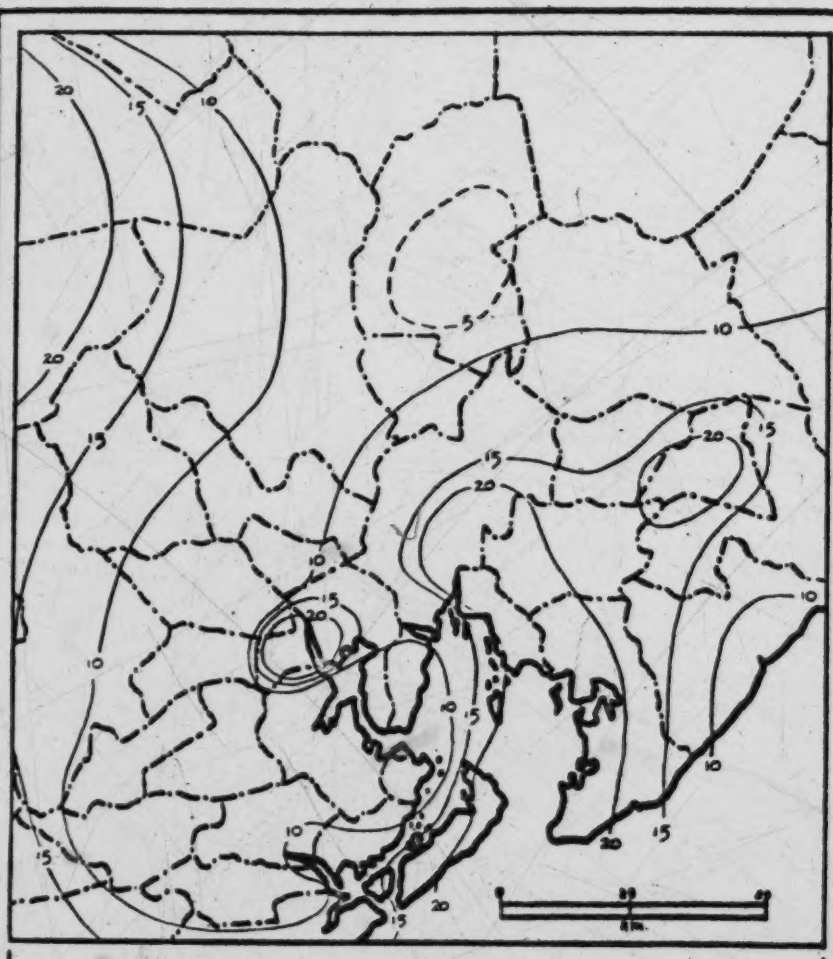
241
423 Operation by Administrator. Absentee ownership in the Recôncavo
471 probably had its origin in the colonial period, when it was the practice
178 of many of the *senhores de engenho* (sugar cane planters) to spend part of the year in Salvador. As the urban interests of the owner increased, the management of some properties passed into the hands of overseers, frequently drawn from the mixed-blood retinue of the plantation owner. To a lesser extent the same practice seems to have developed in other parts of the Recôncavo, as the property owner became involved in business, in the professions, or in politics in the *cidades* or in Salvador. The development of corporate landholding as a concomitant of the *usina* system has made agricultural administrators even more numerous.

241
423 Properties operated by administrators were found in every *muni-*
471 *cípio* of the Recôncavo in 1940 (Map 115). In 13 *municípios* over one-tenth of the properties were so operated. The number of administrator-operated properties was relatively large in São Félix--25 per cent--in the sugar cane region, but also in the *município* of Salvador and on the island of Itaparica opposite.[6] The area in administrator-operated properties was relatively great in the sugar cane zone--30 to 40 per cent--and near Salvador, in general conforming to the pattern of the relative number of properties under administrators (Map 116). However, administrator-operated properties in the Central Recôncavo were relatively large--200 hectares in São Francisco

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 333]

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

*102
241
423
491



RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

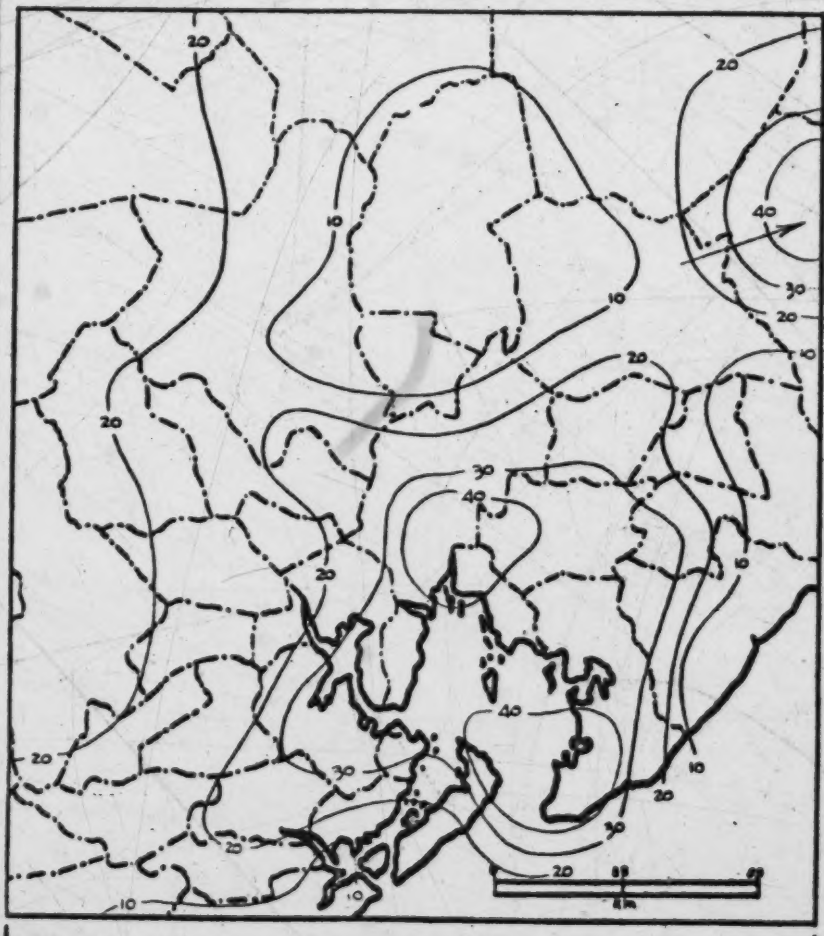
Per cent of All Agricultural Properties Which Were Operated by Administrators--1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia. Vol. II.

MAP 115

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

*102
241
423
471



RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Enumerated Area in

Administrator-Operated Properties--1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 116

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

241 423 471 and 161 hectares in Santo Amaro--while those of the Salvador area were relatively modest--81 hectares in Salvador and 72 hectares in Itaparica.

241 427 Rented Properties. There were few rented properties in the Recôncavo as a whole in 1940 (Map 117), but in three areas over 10 per cent of the properties were rented: in the core of the tobacco-manioc area of the Southwestern Recôncavo; in Irará; and around Salvador. In Maragogipe, 52 per cent of the properties, occupying 15 per cent of the enumerated area, were rented (Map 118). In Santo Antônio, adjoining the Southwestern Recôncavo, over 30 per cent of the properties were rented, but along the western and norther border zones of the Recôncavo there were very few rented properties. Because of the small size of the units, rented properties in the Recôncavo generally occupied less than 10 per cent of the enumerated area.

[241] [249] The rented properties of the tobacco-manioc crop region were usually small, from 10 to 30 hectares, but in the sugar cane area they averaged over 200 hectares (Map 119). If the official data are correct, the mean size of rented properties in Coração de Maria was over 267 hectares, but this seems very unlikely and has not been shown on the map.

241 423 471 Corporate Lands. In 1940, one-hundred ninety-eight of the 29,000 agricultural properties of the Recôncavo were owned by corporations or companies. The total area of these properties was 33,000 hectares, almost 4 per cent of the total enumerated area of the region. Moreover, the land which composed these properties was some of the most productive in the Recôncavo. The number of corporate properties and the concentration of land under corporate ownership almost certainly has increased since 1940.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 3371

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

241
423
471
[249] Although there were a few corporate lands in the vicinity of the city of Salvador in 1940, the main concentration was in the sugar cane area north of the Bay. Here the large corporately-owned usinas controlled as much as 30 per cent of the agricultural land. Most of these corporate properties were sugar cane plantations, but some were cattle ranches and other accessory properties. The corporations tend to dominate the sugar cane areas which are most productive and most favorably located for the transportation of cane and of the refined sugar and other products.

Conclusion. The strong network of interpersonal relationships, discussed in connection with crop cultivation and systems, is often more important than the purely formal aspects of land ownership and operation in the Recôncavo. The agricultural society of the Recôncavo is closely knit, so that the effective freedom of operation of the farm operator
[565] is very limited. Although the large and rich landowners have, on some levels, a greater latitude than the small operators, they too are enmeshed in a system of inherited economic and social obligations and are subject to the restrictions imposed by the urban upper class.

241
441
442
472 The two primary local supervisory groups in the agricultural society are the merchant-buyers of the tobacco-manioc region and the general administrators and plantation owners of the sugar cane region.
[656] However, both these groups are under the more or less immediate control of the sugar and tobacco companies in Salvador and of the official Instituto do Açúcar e do Álcool and the Instituto Baiano do Fumo.[7]

249
471
472
656 The operations of the sugar cane plantations are dictated by the mills, which specify the type and quantity of cane and the schedule of delivery. In turn, the amount of sugar produced by the mill is determined by the Instituto do Açúcar e do Álcool, while the policy of

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
Brazil SL1

BB
249
497
492
[656] operation is determined by the company officers, who generally live in Salvador. The company, in its turn, is subject to some control from Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo investors. This structured system of control probably is one of the reasons for the continuation of the monoculture in the sugar cane area. The usual explanation offered for the cane monoculture is the unique suitability of the soil and climate and the innate conservatism of the Baiano. However, one of the features of the present sugar economy is the lack of capital for other enterprises. The absentee owners, who are the only likely source of capital, are hesitant to advance money for new and untried enterprises. Moreover, alternative agricultural enterprises, if successful, would reduce the supply of cane and thus eventually raise the cost of usina operation.

BB
249
244
442 In the tobacco-manioc region the control exercised by Salvador is indirect, but compelling, because the small tobacco producer is almost completely at the mercy of the buyer, who receives orders from the tobacco exporter and manufacturer through the agent.

BB
241
423
471
[184]
[231]
[233] The differences in production specialization, size, and tenure among the agricultural properties of the Recôncavo both accentuate the basic dichotomy of the region and re-emphasize its unity. The small-scale mixed crop cultivation and livestock producing unit of the tobacco-manioc region and the large-scale crop cultivation unit of the sugar region are both esentially engaged in the production of commercial crops. Both are distinct from the primary agricultural unit of the sertão, the livestock ranch. Both are subject to the over-all economic control of the center—Salvador.

B
BB
241
423
184
[249] In most parts of Brazil, as in the Recôncavo, the agricultural properties are highly diverse in size, function, and ownership. Most areas of sugar cane cultivation have relatively large properties, primarily engaged in crop cultivation. In other areas, as in

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
Brazil SL1

B
BB
249
471
423
178

In other areas, as in the Recôncavo, more and more of the cane plantations are passing into the hands of the central mills and are being operated by administrators. Small properties, owner or renter operated, are also a widespread feature of the Brazilian agricultural scene. Frequently, as in the Recôncavo, large and small properties are intermixed in zones where several crops and livestock are raised jointly. Throughout Brazil the class of small property holders is tied to the merchant and large landholder class by a network of economic and social relationships much like those of the Recôncavo. Apparently the number and total area of small properties is growing, especially in Central and South Brazil. If this be so, the development of small farms in the Recôncavo, such as those producing tobacco and manioc, is part of the nationwide trend.

249 31 [134] Commercial sugar cane cultivation is confined to the humid Coastal Plain areas with Cretaceous clay soils, except for a small area in São Filipe. Since the areas of Cretaceous clay soils are limited and compact, sugar cane production is highly localized in two areas: (1) the main sugar cane area in the municípios of Santo Amaro, São Francisco, and São Sebastião; and (2) a smaller area north of the Bacia do Iguape in the município of Cachoeira. There is a third area of less intensive production in southern São Filipe.

249 244 [433] The sole purpose of cultivation in the sugar cane area is the production of a commercial product, but the areas of tobacco-manioc cultivation produce both a staple food and a commodity for sale outside the region. Most of the tobacco and manioc of the Recôncavo are produced under a land rotation system in which the sequence is: (1) tobacco; (2) manioc; and (3) fallow in wild vegetation. The tobacco is planted in small fields, usually after an application of manure. The entire plant is harvested repeatedly until it will no longer produce a salable leaf. Manioc is planted following tobacco, sometimes several times, until the field is exhausted and abandoned to the second growth. The fallow period is frequently short, sometimes as little as one year. Cultivation is entirely by hand--no plows are used. There is very little selection of seed, and only one variety of tobacco--Bahia Brasil--is produced. Tobacco and manioc are produced almost exclusively by small cultivators who are either owners or renters. Frequently livestock are raised upon the properties of the cultivators, but except for the use of manure in the cultivation of tobacco, there is little integration of crop and livestock production. The leaf is harvested, dried, and partially fermented by the cultivator. The marketing of tobacco is inseparable from the credit arrangement between the cultivator and the tobacco buyer or agent. The leaf is delivered by the producer to the storekeeper-buyer or the local tobacco warehouse.

[423] [427] [231] [233] 276 276 438 [452] [488]

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
Brazil SL1

BB 241 231 233 In the surrounding sertão livestock production is the areally and, in many cases, economically dominant activity; the Recôncavo is primarily a region of crop cultivation.

BB 43 443 The Recôncavo is a functional unit in the economic organization of commercial agriculture and marketing. Salvador, with one-third of BB [249] [452] the people of the region, is the primary market center. The credit essential to the production of tobacco passes from the city to the country-side, while the leaf is either shipped to the city for export or is sent B BB [249] to local cigar factories controlled by Salvador companies. Similarly, the headquarters of the sugar industry and the chief market for its products is Salvador. Feira de Santana is also a functional center for the region, since in its markets the agricultural and industrial products which either originate in the Recôncavo or are imported through Salvador are exchanged for the livestock, crops, and extractive products of the sertão.

B BB 241 Many of the features of the agricultural system of the Recôncavo are also characteristic of Brazil. Both the land rotation system and the permanent monoculture are basic Brazilian agricultural systems. Agricultural technology, in the Recôncavo and in most parts of Brazil, B BB [464] is relatively backward. Brazilian agriculture is labor extravagant, and there is a constant falta de braços, but with few attempts at mechanization. Agriculture is highly speculative, whether tobacco in B BB [423] [565] the Recôncavo or coffee in São Paulo. The large property—latifundia—and the class organization with which it is associated are important in the region and in the country as a whole. There are large numbers of semi-dependent small cultivators in the Recôncavo as in other parts of Brazil. Both the region and the nation are very dependent upon the sale of agricultural products to distant markets.

121
*249 ditions and of paternalism. Here, the privately owned plantation is also still an important element.

In the community on which the present study focuses, there is a modern sugar factory or usina, but control by the factory of the entire process, from cane planting and harvesting to milling, is far from complete. Although the factory, in this case a family corporation, has bought up six neighboring plantations, at least half its supply of sugar cane comes from individual, family-owned plantations. Owners of these plantations, which have conserved their original boundaries, are often descendants of the aristocratic landholders of the past, and many of their workers are descendants of slaves who lived on the same plantations.

121 In this community, changes in sugar-producing technology
178 have not reached down into the actual cane cultivation on the
*249 plantations. Emphasis has been on the improvement of milling techniques, the further refinement of sugar-cane juice, and the perfection of the finished product by the central mill. But the agricultural methods--planting, cultivation, harvesting, and transportation--have remained relatively unchanged.

121 Most important of all, with the retention of these older tech-
178 niques has gone the retention to a very great degree of the old
*249 accompanying social system. The present social system tends
571 to follow the old, traditional, family-oriented, slaveholding complex. The pattern of face-to-face interpersonal relations, developed during centuries of sugar-cane monoculture based on slavery, persists in a modified form. Although the relations between workers and owner on these family plantations are now those of employee and employer, and not slave and owner, there is still the highly personal, intimate relationship based upon mutual rights and obligations and a sense of the obligations of nobility. Even the usina system perpetuates this paternalism to a high degree.

121 The present work is a "community study" in the full sense of the term as it is understood today in social anthropology. It is primarily a descriptive analysis of one community in the sugar-producing region of northeastern Brazil, but it is conceived within the framework of the historical sequence outlined above.

is located at the water's edge on one of the six plantations; three belong to different members of another family related to the sugar factory owners through marriage; one belongs individually to a member of the family owning the factory; and the last one belongs to a nonrelative, a mestiço (person of mixed racial descent), who is socially reticent but considered an astute businessman. Within the area there is also a federal school which has a large expanse of nonCultivated land.

The pattern of settlement on the plantations is that of a village. The homes of the cultivators are grouped in a cluster apart from the land they work, the point of orientation being the owner's home. "Although the village settlement as represented by the homes of the small-farming classes is hardly to be found in Brazil, the village manner of arranging the population on the land is widely used on the large estates that are prominent throughout the Brazilian countryside. For the most part the fazendas and usinas of Brazil utilized this nucleated form of settlement in their 'quarters' or 'colonies' for the workers who till the crops."[6]

The population of the rural zone of the community of Vila Recôncavo is 2,800, of whom 500 live at the sugar factory nucleus; on each of the sugar-cane plantations there are between 150 and 200 persons. Traveling about from one plantation nucleus to another, one sees no sign of habitation, for the country is devoted to intensified sugar-cane cultivation. Fields of sugar cane, 10 to 20 acres in size, alternate with pastures--fields which are being rested for three or four years. Each private plantation has a section of forest to produce firewood and lumber. The factory plantations, however, for the most part are entirely cleared, as the corporation owns another plantation on the other side of the Recôncavo which is used exclusively for raising and pasturing cattle and for supplying firewood for the large fires of the factory. Land divisions or boundaries are generally long lines of graceful bamboo trees which also supply fence posts. On each plantation can be seen the remains either of the old sobrado or of the antique mill (engenho) or chapel (capela), and in some cases the sobrado is still in good repair and inhabited by the owner.

The Recôncavo is not blessed with abundant fresh water. The rivers are few and small, prone to dry up in the hot sum-

6. T. Lynn Smith, Brazil (Baton Rouge, 1947), p. 396.

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1987 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

3: History of the Rural Area

THE HISTORY of the development of the rural area of Vila Recôncavo is more or less representative of that of most of the sugar area in the states of Bahia, Alagoas, and Pernambuco, and consists of two major aspects. It is first of all the history of the sugar-cane industry in Brazil, and secondly the social, economic, and political record of the people who grew the cane.

The Bahian Recôncavo occupies a unique position in Brazil, for its history is as long as that of what is today the nation. From 1549 until 1763 Salvador was the capital of the new and prosperous Portuguese colony. The Recôncavo, because of its proximity to Salvador, and because of the excellent transportation facilities provided by the Bay of All Saints, was the only part of Brazil in easy communication with the capital city. Although the governors general were occupied with the settlement of other far-flung places in the colony and with the raiding and pirating of the French, English, and Dutch, their first or at least closest worries were those of settling and exploiting Bahia and its immediate environs. By the end of the first fifty years of activity, most of the Recôncavo had been wrested from the wilderness; and, although not free from molestation by the Indians for many more years, it was rapidly planted in sugar cane. As noted earlier, sugar at this time was a luxury item in Europe and brought a very high price. In the first century of its cultivation sugar cane made the fortunes of many people: the growers, the middlemen, the slavers, and the colonial governors.

At the start of the colonial period land was given out in the form of grants which originally carried with them the idea of

175
•423 the responsibility of holders to colonize and develop their
*249 areas. The grants were as a rule very large, consisting of leagues of land rather than of acres. Only one grant could be made to a family. As a result the son of a man who was a holder of a grant either had to remain on his father's land or had to leave the province and go elsewhere to acquire land.
[425] The only remaining alternative was to forget about land and go into commerce or a profession. However, since the grants were so very large, the original holders were able to break them up, selling or renting parts, giving some to their married sons or daughters and yet retaining and cultivating enough to support themselves. Thus the original land grants were broken up, and several plantations were made of each.

175 Engenho was the name given to the total plantation, as well
*249 as being the specific designation for the mill itself. Every
313 plantation, regardless of whether it was inland or on the coast, needed two things: the soil known as massapé, and woods as close as possible to the mill to supply firewood for boiling the
[185] sugar-cane juice. Firewood soon became a crucial problem, one which has haunted the sugar industry for centuries. Conservation never was a Brazilian practice, and the tropical
[435] forests of the Recôncavo were soon stripped to feed the hungry mouths of the furnaces. As time went on it became necessary to import firewood by boat from wherever it could be
[376] found, which added greatly to the costs of producing sugar. The steam mill came much later and added further to the problem.

175 At first the owner's house was a veritable fort, surrounded
*249 by bulwarks and stockades to resist Indian attacks, but by the
342 end of the seventeenth century the need for this precaution had
361 passed away and the plantation houses were assuming noble proportions. Many were imposing two-story buildings built of stone and mortar, the ground level generally being used as a storehouse and the master (senhor de engenho) and his family living on the upper floor. As a rule the Big House of the Recôncavo was situated so that there would be an excellent view from the windows, not only of the mill and slave quarters nearby but of the surrounding countryside. There was no sight so dear to the heart of a plantation master as that of fields of sugar cane, the leaves of many shades of green waving gently in the breeze.

175
*249 Frequently a chapel was connected with the house or built
36 near it. Not very far away would be the mill, and nearby the
[346]

21 Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1961) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

000
*565
571
175
425
58
* 249
[594]
[596]

the plantation complex became the principal characteristic. Marriages between the families of plantation owners brought new alignments of property, some families acquiring more land and others losing it through the natural processes of the marriage and growth of parts of families and the dying out of others. Family became increasingly important. As a rule the conjugal family was large and the extended family enormous; marriages between cousins, uncles, nieces, and other relatives were common. Social life was carried on between neighboring plantations, and of course many marriages took place as a result of these contacts, so that it was not infrequent to find many plantations, both contiguous and scattered, owned by the same family. As a rule each extended family had its traditional plantation as a sort of home base, and the head of the family frequently resided there, although not always. The patriarch was generally granted great respect and prestige by the members of his family, both far and near.

175
571
596
*249
565

Many who received land grants were the noblemen of the province, and many of them were representatives of the government. In this way the plantation master was securely establishing himself and his family not only in the Recôncavo but also in the governmental hierarchy, and was often in a position to see that the government action did not adversely affect the interests of the sugar-cane growers. At any rate, for several centuries social and political domination was in the hands of a small group which gradually intermarried, always strengthening itself. Its members were, first and foremost, the landowning gentry; next in importance were professional people such as lawyers, doctors, clerics, educators, and politicians. Members of this group were also soldiers, and in the War of Independence in 1822 the plantation masters of Vila Recôncavo took a foremost part both personally and financially, for which many were later honored by having royal titles bestowed upon them.

175
*565
571
* 249
[423]
[669]

175
* 249
* 565
578

As the small rural towns, and later the counties, grew, they also fell under the domination of one or several plantation masters. Not infrequently a feud would arise between two families to determine which was to be the dominant one. As the plantation master prospered, he showed his wealth and power with a degree of ostentation which was commented upon by travelers and chroniclers of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries. The ruins of houses built at this time can be seen today scattered throughout the coastal northeast.

small empires, disappeared. But in his place an even more powerful figure appeared, the usineiro, the land-factory combination director and representative of corporate power.

However, not all private plantations succumbed to pressure from the factories or to economic collapse. There are many which still continue to plant and cultivate sugar cane and send it to the factory for milling. After 1933 the Institute of Sugar and Alcohol prescribed the amount of sugar cane each plantation, whether private or corporate, could produce, and indicated the total amount of sugar each factory could produce and how much cane it had to accept from each plantation. As a result of this protection, many private plantations continue to function in equilibrium with the factory to which they send their sugar cane. The private plantation owners also have a separate association which looks after their interests.

Thus the twentieth century has seen the introduction and development of the factory system and in its wake a series of fundamental changes. The growth of factory towns (the usina nuclei) has created further competition for the older county seats, such as the town of Vila Recôncavo, and further disintegration of the former community structure.

Since its discovery and settlement, the rural area of Vila Recôncavo has been the scene of sugar-cane planting and sugar making. The rural area was settled before the town of Vila Recôncavo, and the plantation nuclei were actually self-sufficient small towns in themselves. The landowning pattern in this rural area has gone full cycle. First were the large land grants which were then split up into separate engenhos (after 1889 known as fazendas) through division due to inheritance, sale, or donation. For about three hundred years the pattern of the area was that of the engenho. However, at the end of the nineteenth century, this way of life came to an end as a result of financial crises and the abolition of slavery. The twentieth century has seen the introduction of the factory, which has led to a concentration of lands again under single ownership, although this time corporate and not that of a single individual or family.

During the epoch of the plantations there was a necessity for the existence of the town to serve the needs of the landowning class. The community during this time was focused to a large extent toward the county seat. But with the abolition of slavery, the disappearance of the plantation master and his large family, and the coming of the factory, the former com-

VILA RECÔNCAVO

[The Private Plantation]

The following discussion will examine one of the five private plantations in the community of Vila Recôncavo and will then describe the network of factory plantations in the same community.

The Private Plantation: Fazenda das Moças

The Fazenda das Moças ("G" on map of community) is typical of a privately owned plantation in all respects but one. Its owner is a lady who assumed active direction of the plantation after her husband's death. At first there was some difficulty in persuading the overseer of the plantation to take orders from a woman, for he felt his prestige was lowered in the eyes of the workmen as well as the overseers of neighboring plantations. However, after three or four years, Dona Sinhá, in cooperation with "Seu"[1] Paulo, the overseer, has made an outstanding success of her plantation, and the original friction between the two has greatly diminished. Below is an inventory of the Fazenda das Moças:

Extent: 930 tarefas,[2] mostly of massapê, 450 of which are under sugar-cane cultivation, the rest consisting of pasture and small gardens

Water: 4 drinking tanks for livestock
2 small freshwater streams
(Drinking water must be brought from a neighboring plantation, which has a spring well known in the area for the salubrious qualities of its water.)

Houses: 45 workers' houses
Owner's house, with living room, dining room, 4 bedrooms, kitchen, bathroom, 2 maids' rooms, 2 other dependencies, veranda; surrounded by orchard
1 overseer's house
1 house formerly used as a school

---

1. "Seu" is a corruption of Senhor and is a title often given to persons of some prestige.

2. The tarefa is the unit of land measurement used in Bahia. It equals 900 square braças. The braça equals 6 feet, which gives the tarefa 32,400 square feet. This is 11,160 square feet less than one acre.

2: Hutchinson E-4,6 (1950-1951) 1987 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

[The Private Plantation]

*249
•[423]
[435]

1 new, rural school, with rooms for classes and living quarters for teacher, constructed by the state on land donated by Dona Sinhá

Value of the plantation: Cr$1,500,000,00.[3]

*249
422

Equipment: 1 Caterpillar tractor, model D2
1 John Deere plow
1 jeep
2 four-wheeled, rubber-tired wagons
9 juntas of oxen (the junta equals ten oxen, eight in use and two resting)
9 two-wheeled carts drawn by oxen--the antique and most used transportation in the Recôncavo
30 burros for carrying cane
12 saddle horses
35 milk cows and breeding mares
78 cattle for breeding purposes

*249
407
[493]
[177]
[412]

The Fazenda das Moças is unusual in its possession of a tractor, a mechanical plow, and a jeep. (Even more recently a second tractor and a mechanical cultivator have been added.) More commonly the pai adão (Father Adam) plow is used, drawn by eight oxen. According to Pinho the plow was introduced into Brazil in the late eighteenth century. Before this all cultivation was done with the hoe.[4] For the past 150 years the pai adão has been used primarily to open the rows in which the sugar cane is planted. All the rest of the cultivation is done by hand, with the hoe and billhook. The pai adão is a simple plow with a single plowshare. When it is drawn by oxen, a driver is needed, plus a small boy helper and another man to manage the plow. When it is drawn by tractor, only two men are needed, the driver and the plowman. Various properties of the soil, such as its hardness in the summer when it dries, its swamplike character during the rainy season, and the danger of turning up the infertile tauá which underlies the shallow layer of massapê, have made plowing difficult in the Re-

[461]

---

[436]

3. The cruzeiro (Cr$) is the Brazilian monetary unit and equals roughly five cents in United States currency. Thus the value of the plantation is approximately $75,000.00.

4. de Araujo Pinho, Historia de um engenho do Recôncavo, 1522-1944 (Rio de Janeiro, 1946), p. 243.

21 Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1981) 1987 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

VILA RECÔNCAVO

[The Private Plantation]

côncavo. So far only the pai adão has been able to fulfill the plowing requirements. Lately, however, tractors with caterpillar tread have been introduced and, when used carefully with disk plows, have given excellent results. But the old standby is still commonly in use, hitched to eight, ten, twelve, or as many as twenty oxen.

The owner's house with its park stands on a small hilltop and is visible from afar because of its imperial palms. Nearby, on another hilltop, is the settlement of workers, a long street with houses on either side, the barracks, a small store, and the ever-present casa de farinha, the house where manioc is always being ground, pressed, and roasted to make the farina which is the staple food of the area. Also on this street is the overseer's house, which stands out from the others because of its large size and its veranda. The houses of the workmen are small and built for the most part under one long, common roof. Each house is really an apartment consisting of a front living room and a long corridor going back to the kitchen, with one or two bedrooms leading off the corridor. Other houses, under separate roofs, have similar interior arrangements. The roofs are of red tiles, the rest of the house of clay mud (taipa) slapped on both sides of a bamboo framework. After the mud has dried a coat of whitewash is applied. The houses are built and kept in repair by the plantation owner and do not belong to the workers. The floors are of beaten earth, difficult to keep clean. At night, when only a tiny oil lamp is burning, the houses look dark and gloomy.

After dark one has the impression of hearing much more than one can see. Kerosene is expensive to burn, no one reads, and most of life is geared to doing in the daytime those tasks which require light. At night the workmen and their families sit in the dark talking, or perhaps go to the casa de farinha where a fellow workman and his family may be grinding their manioc. This building is softly lit with kerosene lamps and there is a cheerful glow from the roasting fire. More recently the overseer's house has been equipped with electricity, and now it is always well lighted at night. His new radio has become a center of attraction and small groups form about his veranda, listening. At the other end of the street, during harvest time, there is always a bonfire in front of the barracks where the migrant workers are sheltered. On special occasions there may be a samba (dance), perhaps in the plantation owner's house. Then everyone does his best and the

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA RECONCAVO

the factory is undergoing a reformation which will raise its capacity to over one hundred thousand sacks, and the legal capacity will be readjusted.

Usina São Pedro, although the smallest, is representative of the others and experiences the same problems and difficulties. It differs from some in that it is a family enterprise. The stockholders are nearly all members of the Conde family, and the operations are directed by two members of the family. The factory itself was one of the three built by the state government in 1900 on land controlled by the Navy,[5] on the edge of the Bay, which provides excellent year-round transportation facilities. The mill was acquired in 1909 by the Conde family with two plantations, to which the family has since added four other contiguous plantations. The corporation has a total area of slightly over four thousand acres, mostly of rich massapê soil. The factory receives cane from the plantation of Dona Sinhá, who is also a member of the Conde family by birth and by marriage. It also gets cane from four other plantations within the community and four outside the community, which send their cane by the traditional sailboat. In addition, the factory owns a 2,324-acre plantation in the county of Purificação which is used for grazing and raising cattle and for supplying wood for the factory fires. There is direct water transportation between the factory and the plantation in Purificação.

The designation usina has several meanings which are quite similar to the meanings of the older term, engenho. In its larger context, usina means the entire land-factory combination, including the mill and all the plantations belonging to the corporation. More specifically, usina means the factory building itself. In another context, usina simply indicates the population nucleus, including the factory, the owner's house, and the other buildings.

The usina or factory nucleus roughly follows the same settlement pattern of the old plantations. The point of orientation is the factory building, near which stand the chalet and other homes of the owning family, which are grouped together in a park of royal palms and mango trees. Usually a small chapel or oratory is included in one wing of the chalet, where

5. The shoreline bordering salt water is controlled to the depth of 33 meters by the Brazilian Navy.

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brasilians SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

[The Usina]

The private plantation presents a far better appearance than any plantation belonging to the factory, for it is usually "home" to the owner, who is interested in keeping it as pleasant as possible, while the factory plantation in charge of an overseer is simply a business project existing only to produce sugar cane.

At the Usina São Pedro, as stated earlier for the Recôncavo generally, the consolidation of land by the corporations has not turned the entire property into one large plantation. Instead, each plantation has retained its old boundaries, indeed complete autonomy, following only the general policies of the factory directory. The Usina São Pedro happens to be situated in a central position in relation to its six plantations. This is not always the case, for frequently the lands of a factory are scattered far from the plant itself, creating difficulties of administration and transportation.

Each of the plantations has its own nucleus, the street of workers' houses oriented toward the house of the overseer. Each of these little villages has its own small store, usually a private enterprise of the overseer. The largest plantation, Pedras, has a chapel and a school. None of the plantations has an electric power line, but each has a telephone in the overseer's house. The feeling of isolation and abandonment is strong, as indeed it is on almost all overseer-directed plantations belonging to a factory. There is a general feeling of pity for the residents who are situated so far from their patrão and whose first recourse must be the overseer, a man like themselves, with little or no education and little interest in the people other than to keep them working. In other words, the factory plantation lacks the paternal hand of the owner. In other respects it is similar to the private plantation in that it has an overseer, a foreman, a cowboy, and resident workmen.

The bulk of the agricultural direction of the São Pedro plantations is in the hands of the general overseer, Seu Pipiu. It is his duty to direct and supervise the activities of all six plantations. He is a man of no small status. He is practically independent in his actions, for the directors of the factory tell him how much cane they feel they need in the forthcoming harvest, and it is up to him to produce it. The methods and problems in doing this are left up to him. Seu Pipiu gives orders to each of the regional overseers, whose duties are the same as those of the overseer on a private plantation. The only difference is that they are dealing with a superior employee, instead of with the owner in person. The general over-

VILA RECÔNCAVO

The plantation worker's world is small, and conversational topics are limited to family matters such as births, deaths, marriages, sickness, and other intimate details of personal life, the problems of work, and difficulties of any sort. The planter can know the daily life and thoughts of the workers only through observation, for he himself lives quite differently. However, his knowledge of the workers is apt to be profound in spite of the differences, and he knows much more of their lives than they know of his. On the other hand, visiting between the workers and the members of Class B is on a much more equal basis, for the differences between their modes of living and thinking are small.

When the workers are invited to a party by the planters, it is usually an affair given for them, such as a Christmas celebration. At such a time the planter is host and spectator, rather than host and participant. At other times the workers may get together a song and dance group, a samba, and go to the owner's house for the evening. This is frequently explained as "keeping the patron from being lonely." Again the owner is spectator, for the samba, performed exclusively by women, is a type of folk dance seldom engaged in by the more sophisticated upper class.

Class B in the rural area is only beginning to feel any sort of group consciousness, for the occupational institutions it represents are relatively new and it is not yet aligned in any way with the corresponding class in town. There are two overseers who lack any formal education--indeed, who cannot read or write. In all cases the male members of this class have set up and maintained a family, educating their children and seeing to it that they marry as well as possible. As a rule such men are "self-made"--they have risen from the ranks of workers as a result of their own ability, sagacity, sense of responsibility, and desire to improve themselves. They are distinguished from the workmen by these traits, which seem to develop even further as they have the opportunity to use their initiative.

Members of this group usually acquire numerous possessions of their own, such as horses, oxen and carts, mules, and donkeys which can be put to gainful use. They also operate small stores on their plantations--in one case even a chain of stores, one on each of three plantations. They also try to buy a small farm somewhere nearby. Frequently the employer facilitates such acquisitions as a sort of bonus, lending money or even giving some to the overseer.

3t Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

lending money or even giving some to the overseer. Some of the members of Class B even acquire property in Salvador or in Centro, such as a house or houses which they may rent. It is the possession of this material wealth, plus the position of responsibility and authority, the greater proximity to the owner, and the invariably legalized status of the man's family which distinguish him from those below, placing him in a class by himself. In the case of the higher-placed white-collar workers of the factory, education is also important.

In material possessions other than those already listed, Class B differs considerably from the other two classes, having much less than Class A but much more than Class C. Their houses are always better and larger than those of the workers, and they usually have electricity supplied by the plantation. They generally have complete sets of manufactured dining and living room furniture, better bedroom furniture than the scanty belongings of the workers, china, rather than the clay dishes (nagé) of the workers, and table service for as many as a dozen persons. Usually their clothes are better and more numerous. Overseers are well known for their use of khaki coats, shirts, ties, and riding breeches, their well-polished leather boots and their felt hats, in contrast with the more informal sports clothes of the landowners and with the ragged, tight trousers and shirt and the straw hat of the shoeless rural worker.

Class B in the town of Vila Recôncavo is represented by Group I as described in the preceding chapter, with a few exceptions such as the minor municipal employees and a few of the smaller-scale merchants and lower-rated petroleum workers. Because there are no representatives of Class A in the town, Class B represents the top of the urban social scale. It is a class which has long existed in the town and which has always been composed of more or less the same occupation groups. For the most part, members of this stratum live on the hill which constitutes the old part of Vila Recôncavo, and seldom go down to the newer section. There are fourteen persons residing in town, plus their eight children, who are considered pure Caucasoid; they are all members of this local upper class. Three of them are foreign-born Franciscans who do not participate in much of public life once their official duties are completed. The others are brancos da terra ("whites of the land," a term which will be explained later in this chap-

21 Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA REGONCAVO

they are generally conceded to be so by the field hands and the members of classes A and B, because their occupations are more specialized and they work in the mill. There are actually several factors which distinguish them from the field laborers, for in addition to receiving protection by national legislation, including minimum salaries and rights to vacations and medical services, they receive from the factory electric light for their houses and firewood. In addition, factory workers do not plant gardens to supply their farina, and they consider themselves far superior to the agricultural laborers in that their own wives "do not use the hoe" (nao pegam na enxada).

At the factory nucleus where both millworkers and the agricultural laborers of one plantation live in the same place, the houses of the former are grouped in the middle of the village, clustered about the owner's chalet, while those of the latter are on the fringes, farther from the usineiro's house, the mill, and the large store. The factory workers' houses are better constructed than those of the field laborers. They are mostly of brick with tile roofs, while the field workers' homes are often of wattle-work covered with plaster and painted over. The houses of the factory nucleus follow the old slavequarter pattern. The buildings are long and narrow and divided into apartments under one roof. The factory owns all the houses, which the workers receive rent-free. The factory worker is better paid than the field worker, and consequently has more and better material possessions. His house is better furnished, and he dresses better.

Illiteracy is widespread in the rural area. The factory nucleus has had a state primary school for thirty years, and Pedras, the largest of the factory plantations, has had one for about twenty. As a result the factory workers, as well as the people of Pedras, have had the opportunity to attend four years of primary school. The rural laborers on other plantations, however, have lacked this opportunity in most cases. An exception is the Fazenda das Moças, which has had a school in recent years, for children in the daytime and for adults at night.

The social life of the workers is almost entirely confined to the place in which they live. Their lives are spent on the plantation except for the days when they walk to the fair in Centro, usually on the Monday following payday. During the summer, when the roads are good for travel, they are busy with the

3t Hutchinson E-4,8 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

harvesting and milling. The factory operates twenty-four hours a day during this season. In the winter, when they have more leisure, travel is too difficult, for the roads disappear in mud. Few of the rural people go to the town of Vila Recôncavo, for it has nothing to attract them except the boat to Salvador and the priest, whom they sometimes visit to have a Mass said or for a burial. The free movies recently innovated by the Petroleum Council and located a mile from the factory have been a boon to the rural people, but as a rule only the men attend. In fact, almost any kind of off-plantation gathering is attended predominantly by men.

On most plantations the casa de farinha is a social gathering place, and both males and females congregate there to talk about the latest news while they work. The women also gossip at the local well as they fetch water or remain there washing their clothes. Their everyday lives are busy, and there is little time for purely social activities. The day begins and ends early. Soon after dark the lights go out, the houses close, and silence reigns except for the noise coming from the casa de farinha, which may operate all night, or the lonesome singing of the caatingueiros housed in the barracks, or the strong rhythmic sound of the drums coming from a distant candomblé ceremony. Because there is little work for women on a plantation, the "extra" girls, those for whom there are no potential husbands, ask the planter to get them work as domestics in the city; this is usually easy, for there is nearly always someone in Salvador looking for a "good, strong country girl" to work in the home. Occasionally, if a worker's son is especially intelligent and industrious, he too may be placed in some position in the city.

Class C comprises the majority of the population in the town of Vila Recôncavo and includes most of the occupations listed in Group 3 of the preceding chapter--that is, fishermen, gardeners, and artisans. There are no "pure whites" in this class, but, as in the rural area, a few "whites of the land" and the full range of mestiços, whose various color and social characteristics will be discussed later. The people of Class C live for the most part in the lower section of town, in the areas called Cortume, Largo de Santa Cruz, Rua Nova, Boqueirão, Cumbamba, and Caquende. The great majority of them own their homes, although the land belongs to the Fazenda Engenho da Vila, to the church, or to the prefeitura, and is rented for a small yearly sum. The houses are small, usually

2s Huchinson E-4,5 (1980-1981) 1987 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

*565
•423
435
422

TABLE 4
TOTAL PROPERTY VALUE

Urban (Cr$)	Class	Rural (Cr$)
	A	5.751.080,00
36.834,54	B	88.652,85
6.954,75	C field workers	1.251,20
	C factory workers	1.633,00
3.991,00	D	

*565
423
422

Total property value again demonstrates the enormous gap between the rural upper class and the classes below. It also shows the members of rural Class B far ahead of urban class B in possession of property. Most of this property consists of small farms and animals. Urban classes C and D have more property than does rural Class C, principally because the town dwellers own their own houses. In addition to this, members of Class C often own their own means of production, such as canoes and fish nets. Both houses and working equipment are supplied to the rural workers by the land owners.

*565
511

TABLE 5
HOUSEHOLD EXPENDITURES

Class	Total expenditure	Expenditure for food
A	10.129,50	3.327,00
B rural	1.955,91	1.199,28
B urban	1.771,40	1.342,21
C field workers	522,00	413,00
C factory workers	755,54	522,00
C urban	728,00	571,00
D	440,90	434,00

Approximately one-third of the total expenditures of Class A are for food, while Class B spends about two-thirds of its

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1987 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

[Class A Families]

7. The Family

THE FAMILIES of Vila Recôncavo carry out the usual functions of this kinship unit to a greater or lesser degree, depending mainly upon their class and their internal structure. There are extremes of family structure in the area: Class A families represent a tightly built and extensive, extended, "patriarchal" organization, constantly giving evidence of its strong solidarity, while Class D is characterized by a loose and weak organization of small, immediate families and part families of women with their children. 565* 596

Class A in the community of Vila Recôncavo is represented by five family lines which own practically all the sugar lands in the area. Two of these families, the Condes and the Jacuipes, are closely interwoven by first-cousin marriages; a third, the Aliança family, is related to these two by marriage. The remaining two families are not related to those just mentioned nor to each other. There is little or no contact between them and the other families, for they spend little time in the rural area, and in Salvador they belong to circles composed of their own extended families. The Conde, Jacuipe, and Aliança families come into occasional contact with the other two at public functions in Salvador, but hardly ever at smaller social gatherings. They spend more time in the rural area, where they are more active politically than the other two. If the roots of these three families were traced back a century or so, it would be seen that they are also related to many other families of local planters and usineiros. Because of the tremendous growth of the numbers in each of the families, they have grown apart, each branch preserving its own nuclear group. Each generation brings new intermar- [423]

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilian SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

[Class A Families]

*565
596 riages and realignments between branches of these old families.

The Conde and Jacuipe families are good examples of family structure and cohesiveness in Class A. The Conde family is the principal owner of the factory, while several members of the Jacuipe family have stock in the corporation. The ancestral plantation of the Jacuipe family lies outside, although near, the community of Vila Recôncavo and is rented to a neighboring factory. Dona Sinhá, a member of the Jacuipe family and widow of a Conde, owns Fazenda das Moças within the community, a property adjoining the lands of Usina São Pedro. The Conde and Aliança families are joined by a marriage which has brought them into close contact. The Aliança family has three plantations in the community. Thus ten of the eleven functioning plantations in the area belong to the members of three interrelated extended families.

[423]

The senior member of the Conde family, the "Colonel," is one of the two men who founded the factory and the brother of the senior member of the Jacuipe family, Dona Yayá, now a widow. A son and a daughter of the Colonel married a daughter and a son of Dona Yayá, thus strengthening the ties between the two families. The Condes are represented by three generations: the mother and father, their eleven children, ten of whom are married, and their twenty-three grandchildren. The Jacuipe family is represented by four generations: Dona Yayá, her eight children, seven of whom are married, twenty-six grandchildren, and three great-grandchildren. Through marriages in the second descending generation of both families, seventeen more persons have been brought into the family group, and through marriages of the third descendent Jacuipe generation six more people have been added. The total number of persons in the two immediate families is ninety-seven. Nineteen members of the Jacuipe family now live in Rio de Janeiro, reducing the number constantly present in Bahia to seventy-eight. Those in Rio, however, maintain constant communication with Bahia and often spend their vacations "home" in Salvador.

[162]

[528]

The Colonel and his wife, and the Colonel's sister Dona Yayá, form the nucleus around which the two extended kindred groups are organised. At the factory there are three residences: the large chalet, where the Colonel and his wife live, and a house apiece for his son and son-in-law, who are the two active directors of the factory. There are accommodations

[474]

[Class A Families]

*565
596
527
262
[272]

All these dishes are served with rice, potatoes, farina, and cooked vegetable salads. Then fruits are served, followed by a series of desserts including puddings, ice cream, and cakes. The meal is concluded with a demitasse (cafêzinho). Lunch is usually served at midday, and afterwards the guests generally break into small groups, talk, sleep, play cards, or stroll about the garden. In midafternoon a small merenda (snack) is served for those who want it, consisting of cake and demitasse, and in the evening ceia (supper) is served, including cold cuts, salads, and dessert. After this the group may go en masse to the movies, either at the Petroleum Camp or in the town of Vila Recôncavo. Or, if in gay spirits, they may spend the evening dancing in the living room to popular records. People go to these almoços by horseback, jeep, truck, or sometimes, in a spirit of fun, by oxcart. Hospitality has for hundreds of years been the tradition of the rural landowners, who envelop guests with an overabundance of everything. One planter always has the dining-room table set for at least ten people, although only he and his wife live in the house. Others have the reputation of always providing a good meal for anyone who passes at mealtime.

*
565
596
527
[546]
[535]
[492]
[493]
*565
574

The decreasing size of families, the shift in individual employment from agriculture to the professions, and this century's change to large-scale industrial holdings for the production of sugar have caused some differences in land tenure and, hence, inheritance. The Recôncavo is not an area in which land title was ever vague or lost as was often the case in the sertão. Land was always scarce here, for the desirable massapê soils are limited in extent. The plantations of today for the most part fall into one of two categories: those which have been in the hands of one family for a century or more, and those which were bought after the abolition of slavery by newcomers to the Recôncavo or by those who already had plantations and at a time of falling value bought new ones from the creditors who had taken them over from their former owners for debt. In both cases title passed free and clear. The common form of inheritance is for one half of the estate to go to the widow and the other half to be divided among other heirs.

423
178
428

178
42

A century ago, it was common for plantation masters to have extensive holdings, not only in the Recôncavo, but also in other parts of the state, as well as houses and even commercial buildings in the city of Salvador. In addition to this,

175
249

gave sugar growing a great impetus by organizing expeditions of soldiers which he led into the farthest reaches of the Bay of All Saints, killing, driving out or enslaving the hostile Indian inhabitants, so as to make the area safe for settlers to move out of the city into the surrounding area and plant sugar. Mem de Sá himself built one of the largest and most productive of the sugar plantations in the Recôncavo.[2] His lands comprised three and a half leagues along the coastline of the Bay, extending four leagues inland, and two islands.[3] This *sesmaria*—as the early land grants were called—of Mem de Sá was broken down into smaller pieces by his daughter who inherited it, and by the end of the sixteenth century, most of the *sesmarias* of the Recôncavo had similarly, been divided into plantations averaging approximately 600 to 1,000 acres. In the past 250 years, many of these have kept the same boundaries and names, but their ownership has changed hands many times and they have passed through many cycles of prosperity and depression.

175
249
423

249
[178]
[376]
[492]
[375]
[471]

The essential form of a plantation in the Recôncavo has changed little since the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In the past, the entire plantation was known as an *engenho*, taking its name from the sugar-mill building which was the heart of the plantation. There were two chief types of sugar mills, one operated by water power and the other driven by traction power supplied by oxen. Before the end of slavery, steam-driven machinery had also come into use. A typical *engenho* had four main items of wealth—its lands, its buildings, the livestock and the slaves. Most of the land was, of course, planted in sugar cane, but there were also wood forests to supply firewood, pastures for the livestock, and small areas devoted to the raising of food stuffs for the personnel of the *engenho*. The buildings of an *engenho* included the sugar mill, the *sobrado*, or home of the owner, and the slave quarters. The owner's house was frequently a very large and pretentious building with one and a half or two storeys. In the Recôncavo the landowners sought to build their houses *a meia encosta*, or against the side of a hill, giving the appearance of a two-storey house in front, but only one in the rear. Such homes were frequently constructed of stone, wood and mortar, with tile roofs. The slave quarters, which were known as *senzalas*, were generally long narrow buildings with sides of mud or *taipa* and and roofs of palm fronds. The livestock of a typical *engenho* consisted of oxen, burros, horses, sheep and cows. The oxen supplied the power to turn the grinding mills when there was no water power, and they pulled the large two-wheeled carts which were used to transport the cane from the fields to the mill. Horses and burros provided transportation for the plantation owner in supervising the work in the fields, and for him and his family for visits to nearby *engenhos* and to town. Cattle and sheep grazing on the portions of the land which were fallow supplied milk and meat to the plantation community.

249
342

249
231
[492]

In the very large *usinas*, the mill hands and even the field hands are modern industrial workers. They are employees of a large industrial corporation and are protected at least theoretically by the labour laws of the nation. The highly personalized relationship between the plantation workers and the owner-administrator of his own plantation, which persisted from the slave era, has been replaced on the larger *usinas* by the impersonal employee-employer relationship of the modern industrial age. Today, modern plantations and small towns have electricity; there is modern housing for workmen; the State and even the sugar companies provide medical aid; there are primary schools both in the small towns and on many plantations; recreation facilities are found in the towns and provided by the *usinas*; and the sugar-cane experimental station situated in the area constantly urges fertilization of the land and modern techniques and methods of sugar-cane production. But the older and more traditional patterns exist side by side with the new, and each of them influences the relations among the racial groups of the zone.

III. Vila Recôncavo is a small town on the Bay of All Saints. The rural area around it, which lies within the social and economic orbit of the town and which is the unit under consideration, comprises some 80 square kilometres, or slightly less than half the entire area of the county of which the town of Vila Recôncavo is the county seat.[1]

It this area there are 14 plantations, three of which nowadays plant very little sugar cane. Parts of the town itself are built on the land of one of these plantations, and the rest of the town area is owned in small lots by private individuals or by the Church. Although Vila Recôncavo is the county seat, local government is the only important function which it fulfils for the surrounding area. It is not used as a shipping point, either for receiving supplies from the outside or for sending sugar to the outside. *Braços do mar*, or inlets of the bay, go to many of the plantations and are deep enough for the *saveiros* (shallow draft sailboats) used on the bay for transport. Many of the plantations have direct connexion with Salvador. Commerce in Vila Recôncavo is almost entirely limited to supplying the 1,462 inhabitants of the town and of some small islands and of one community near by which is not devoted to sugar production. It is not the major supply source even for these groups which live near enough to another and far larger commercial centre where they prefer to do their marketing. The *prefeito* or mayor of the county is rarely a resident of the town itself. Rather he is usually a planter of the surrounding area. He goes into town to do municipal business,

[1] Both the town and the county bear the name of Vila Recôncavo.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOII Bahia Brazilians SOII

and that the sudden liberation of large numbers of subjected blacks would subvert public order gradually melted away as the numbers of emancipated Negroes increased and these freedmen gave evidence of their ability and willingness to become an orderly part of the free population and to labor as effectively, if not more effectively, for wages as when impelled by physical force.

The free people of color (who by 1872 largely outnumbered the slaves)[97] were, Southey says, "an industrious and useful part of the population: most of the maize, manioc and pulse, with which the towns were supplied, was raised by them upon small pieces of ground, which they rented of the great proprietors at a low rate."[98] Freedmen were also employed as laborers on the large estates, where they lived as squatters on the land of their employers, erecting mud and palm-leaf huts for their families, and looking to the planter for protection from any who would do them harm.[99] In the towns they were employed principally as artisans, porters, messengers, barbers, street merchants and small shopkeep-

[97] Johnston, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

[98] Southey, *op. cit.*, III, 787. Cf. also: "The masters who freed slaves often gave them, with their liberty, a piece of land to insure their subsistence. The Negroes who have inherited these small holdings are to-day (1911) the best element of the black agricultural population" (Pierre Denis, *Brazil*, trans. from the French by Bernard Miall [New York, 1911], p. 322).

[99] Koster writes: "The Negroes in my possession could not perform what ought to be done in proper time; and therefore I collected free laborers for the purpose, and in a short period between thirty and forty men, some of whom brought their families, removed on to the lands of the plantation; and most of them erected hovels of palm-leaves, in which they dwelt; but a few of them were accommodated with huts of mud.... Many of these fellows would have committed almost any crime under the impression that my protection would screen them" (*op. cit.*, I, 295, 297).

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

Coast products much prized by Africans and their descendants in Brazil.[1] An elderly Bahian Negro recently brought out from among his treasured possessions a faded photograph of blacks aboard a ship on their way to Africa and pointed out an *atabaque*, or sacred drum, and a woman in *saia grande*.[2] He recalls having been many times with his father at the docks in Bahia when vessels came in from Africa and sailors brought news of Lagos.

Trade with the West Coast, however, gradually decreased until, by 1905, it had almost entirely disappeared. Today, only a few important articles employed in the fetish ritual, such as cowries, *obis* and *orobôs* (sacred fruits), *pimenta* (pepper) *da costa*, *palha* (straw) *da costa*, *sabão* (soap) *da costa*, and strips of *pano* (cloth) *da costa*, are occasionally imported from Africa.

Numerous Africans, their interest in Brazil stirred by Brazilian Negroes returning to the West Coast, are said to have emigrated to Bahia as recently as thirty years ago. Considerable areas in and about the city—for example, Caminho do São Gonçalo, Caminho do Cruz, and a portion of the Terreiro—were once owned, it is said, by *Africanos*.

Today, native-born Africans as a population element are

[1] Pedro Calmon, *Historia social do Brasil* (3 vols.; São Paulo, 1937-39), I, 182. It is also reported that on at least two occasions representatives of African chiefs arrived in Bahia from Ajudá, with which port Bahian officials were maintaining direct commercial relations. One arrived during the administration of the Vice-rei Conde de Athouguia; two others "and an interpreter," on May 26, 1795. See João Varella, *Da Bahia que eu vi* (Bahia, 1935), pp. 153-57; J. B. de Sá e Oliveira, "Dois embaixadores africanos mandados a Bahia pelo Rei do Dahomé," *Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro*, LVI, Part I (1893), 413.

[2] The large skirt still worn *bouffant* by many Bahian black women. The date was approximately 1895.